THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

Hendrik Willem Van Loon

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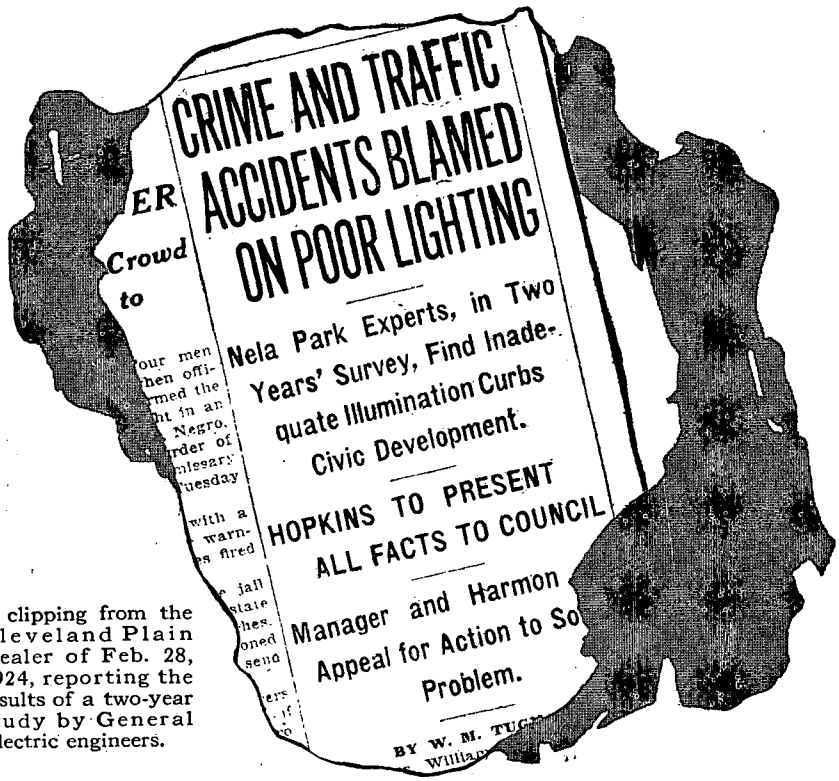

A clipping from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Feb. 28, 1924, reporting the results of a two-year study by General Electric engineers.

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Light your streets better. What good is a good home if it's on an unsafe street?

GENERAL ELECTRIC

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Watch Their Eyes

NOT so many years ago a boy was born in a luxurious home. His parents tried to give him every advantage that a boy should have. He loved Nature and delighted in long walks in the woods. One day when the boy was about thirteen years old a companion pointed out an interesting object. The boy could barely see it. For the first time he realized that something was wrong with his eyes and he told his father. Then came glasses and constant joy and astonishment at the bright new world with clean-cut outlines. All the wonders of the woods which he never dreamed existed were spread before his happy eyes. Books were no longer pages of letters with fuzzy tails. * * * * This boy was Theodore Roosevelt, who became President of the United States.

If parents, such as his, for all their love and care and ability to provide for his needs, never knew that their son had defective vision, can anyone doubt that there are thousands of boys and girls today whose poor sight has not been discovered by their fathers and mothers?

Only 10 children in 100 at the age of nine years have even so-called perfect eyesight. *One* out of every *eight* school children has seriously defective sight or some disease of the eye which needs *immediate* attention. If your child is the one out of eight whose eyes require attention you ought to know it. You cannot tell from the appearance of the eyes whether they are normal.

The time to begin to protect the eyes is from the hour the baby is born. See that the doctor or nurse puts a drop of a prophylactic solution into the baby's eyes to prevent the serious disease commonly known as "babies' sore eyes" which often results in blindness.

Much of the eye trouble of later years comes from injury in babyhood. Never let the sun shine on a child's eyes—even when asleep. Baby eyelids are not sufficient protection. Diseases of childhood sometimes leave the eyes in a weakened condition. Children's eyes require attention during and after serious illness, especially measles and diphtheria.

Perfect vision does not always mean perfect eyes. Serious disease may be present and yet be unnoticed. Many of the eye diseases that lead to blindness are catching. If treated in time they can be cured.

School children are often careless. Impress upon your boys and girls the danger of using towels that have been used by other people. Try to keep them from rubbing their eyes. Great danger comes from infection and dirt.

Watch almost any group of boys and girls learning to write. Faces turned sidewise, soft cheeks almost touching the grimy paper. Little doubled-up fists clutching pencils within a few inches of their eyes. There is the beginning of eye-strain. Children are frequently accused of inattention and stupidity when the truth is they cannot see clearly. Wise parents guard the eyes of their children by having them examined every six months.

Get a good eye specialist. He will quickly discover whether your child needs eye treatment or glasses. If glasses are necessary he will prescribe them.

Many people are prejudiced against glasses for children. It is not true that "once they put them on they will have to wear them all their lives." By wearing glasses when they are needed the condition often is cured and glasses may be dispensed with.

You would not willingly deprive your children of happiness or joy in life and yet, unknowingly, you may deprive them of more than happiness. You may rob them of the power to be independent, self-supporting citizens. You may deny them possible greatness.

There are upward of 100,000 blind people in the United States. According to the National Committee for Prevention of Blindness more than half of them are needlessly blind.

Only 20 of our 48 States have statutes providing for eye tests in schools. Less than one-third of the school children of the entire country have their eyes examined each year.

While parents may not suspect that there is anything wrong with their children's eyes it is sometimes easy for a teacher to detect difficulties. Teachers have an opportunity to watch the way the children use their eyes—to see whether they squint when looking at the blackboard—to observe whether they hold books too near their faces—to notice habits of rubbing or blinking the eyes.

Teachers are doing a kindly and humane act in helping to prevent misery and possible blindness when they notify the parents of children who need to have their eyes examined.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will be glad to mail, free to any one who writes for it, a booklet, "Eyesight and Health" which will be found helpful.

HALEY FISKE, *President.*

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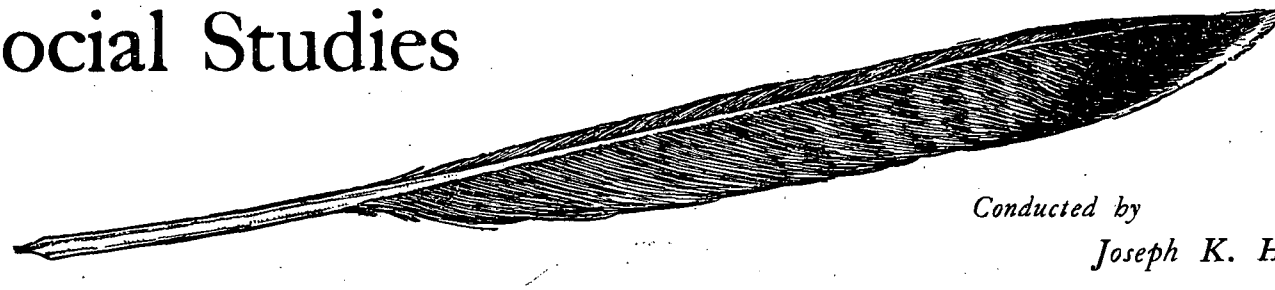
Social Studies



Conducted by
Joseph K. Hart

The Best Laid Plans

ACCORDING to an ancient story, a man named Cain, who had been banished from the presence of Jehovah and had murdered his brother went out into a new country and built the first city. That was an auspicious beginning for cities. The implication of the story is that city builders are without fear of God or human affection; but perhaps no such implication was intended by the writer.

However that may be, modern city statesmen and planners are hard at work, all round the world, trying to let the fear of God into cities, and trying to develop some sense of brotherliness in the inhabitants thereof. Philadelphia, "city of brotherly love," is permitted the inestimable privilege of seeing itself through the eyes of one of its best citizens and deftest critics. Chicago is asking itself whether it has the courage and the wisdom to deal honestly and intelligently with a municipal program involving the expenditure of more than half a billion of public moneys, and the redistribution of lines of traffic which will affect the welfare of millions and shift valuations of property in incalculable ways. Cities in all lands are trying to find out whether they were originally planned, or just grew up; and whether, in either case, planning could have added, or can now add, anything to their convenience, their beauty or their desirability, in any other way, as the homes of men.

This doctrine of "planning" is, at once, the most tempting and the most disillusioning doctrine that now worries the "minds" of men. We seem not able either to take it or to let it alone: if we undertake to plan lives, cities, nations, the world, we find ourselves dealing with issues too great for mortal men; if we fail to make any move in this direction, we find ourselves the victims of "natural processes," living in cities that murder us with plagues and epidemics or submitting to other conditions that starve us or destroy us in floods and preventable catastrophes. Our best laid plans lead us astray; and if we have no plans we are sure to go astray. It's a wonderful world—if you don't weaken!

Nature seems determined to convince us that she has something up our sleeves, or in back of our minds, or in the depths of our biological beings, that we can never be permitted to cover up. Whether we plan, or fail to plan—life is not exhausted. Something unsighted remains behind, something undiscovered waits the discoverer, something unexplored waits the explorer. Whether we plan, or fail to plan, adventure lies ahead. Failing to plan precipitates us into it; and the inevitable failure of all our plans comes to the same result. The best laid plans may satisfy us for awhile; having found their shortcomings and their failure, they may block us for awhile in our efforts to escape from them and make new plans: their first service lies in showing their own futility, and their best service comes when they get out of the way and leave the world open to their successors.

Analytic Index to This Number

1. Child Welfare:
   - Work for the delinquent, p. 34
   - Children of Philadelphia, p. 35ff
   - Children of working mothers, p. 47
2. Family Welfare:
   - Women in industry, p. 46
   - Spread of birth control knowledge, p. 52
3. The Law and Lawbreakers:
   - Enforcing prohibition in Chicago, p. 50
4. The Conquest of Disease:
   - International disease surveys, p. 7ff
   - Conquest of malaria in the Mediterranean, p. 41
5. The Promotion of Health:
   - Making a community healthy, p. 54f
6. Mental Hygiene:
   - The visiting teacher and the atypical child, p. 33f
7. Organizing Social Forces:
   - Organizing philanthropy round the world, p. 7ff
   - Social work and the school, p. 32
   - Social work in Philadelphia, p. 39f
8. Town Planning:
   - Is Philadelphia "planned"? p. 36
   - Regional planning progress, p. 44
9. The City Community:
   - The city of Philadelphia, p. 36
   - How cities grow, p. 40f
   - Disease and the city, p. 42
   - Municipal traction in Chicago, p. 50
10. The Country Community:
    - How people once lived, p. 35
    - Life in Porto Rico, p. 50f
11. Immigration and Race Relations:
    - The Negro moving north, p. 15ff
12. School and Community:
    - Industrial education for Negroes, p. 15f
    - A visiting teacher's day, p. 30
13. Education outside the School:
    - Lessons from history, p. 6
    - International education, p. 7ff
    - The school's community, p. 32
    - Do cross words educate? p. 49
14. Industrial Conditions:
    - Unemployment insurance in Chicago, p. 19f
    - Industrial conditions in Philadelphia, p. 38f
15. Industrial Relations:
    - The New Negro in the South, p. 16
    - Stabilization of production, p. 19f
    - Organization amongst women, p. 45
    - Labor problems in Porto Rico, p. 51
16. Social Invention in Industry:
    - The employment exchange in Chicago, p. 22
    - Developments in railroad labor controls, p. 52
17. Peace and International Relations:
    - Philanthropy round the world, p. 7ff
    - International education movements, p. 9f
    - The olive branch, p. 43
18. Motives and Ideals:
    - Mercy, pity, peace and love—p. 23ff
    - Is modernism heresy? p. 29
    - The talk of the theatre, p. 48
    - Political realignment in Porto Rico, p. 50

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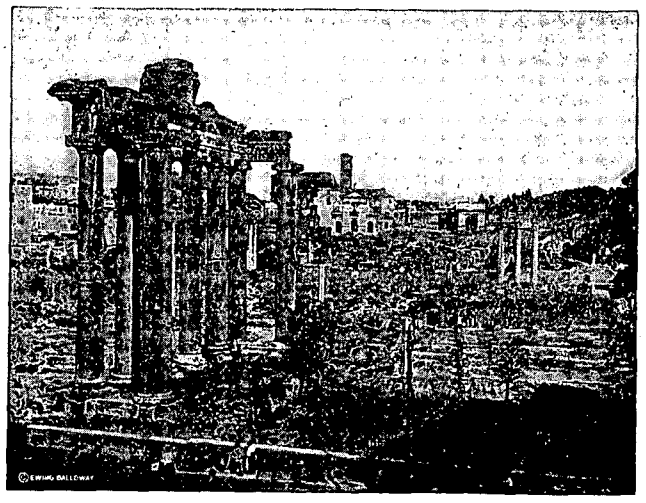

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The Problem Child in School

CHILDREN whose school progress is erratic and puzzling, whose behavior is perplexing, or who manifest traits that give cause for concern, are to be found in every school. Sometimes they are unresponsive, repressed or unhappy, sometimes they are serious discipline cases. Whatever the type of difficulty, the past few years have seen a significant change in attitude toward these problems of childhood. Through practical applications of the newer psychology, of social case work technique at its best, of the teachings of modern psychiatry, the school child of today who is out of harmony with the scheme of things stands an increasingly good chance of being understood and helped.

How visiting teachers, working in thirty communities under the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, are endeavoring to understand and help such children is vividly portrayed in the twenty-six case narratives which make up the bulk of this volume. The stories have been written by Mary B. Sayles, who prepared the narratives of the earlier volume "Three Problem Children." Supplementing that collection of clinic histories from the Bureau of Children's Guidance of the New York School of Social Work, the present narratives illustrate some of the common types of difficulties among school children which, if allowed to persist, frequently lead to permanent maladjustment. Howard W. Nudd, Director of the Public Education Association and Chairman of the National Committee, contributes a statement summarizing the Committee's conception of the work in its broader aspects, and indicating its underlying philosophy and the professional equipment essential to its proper execution. This new publication under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency will appeal particularly to teachers, parents, and social workers in many fields—to all who are concerned with children and their problems.

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TYPICAL LETTER SENT TO
The Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer

"XXX County House
Mother Alphonsa Lathrop,
Rosary Hill Home, Hawthorne, N. Y.
Feb. 25th, 1925.

Dear Mother:—

I have a man under my care, who is now in..... Hospital..... He has an incurable cancer on his face. I have no room for him in the Home, and no one that can take care of him that will, or can, give him the proper care. The inmates of the Home are all old and feeble, and if I had room for this poor man they would not help in any way to make him comfortable. The Hospital tells me I must take him away as they have no room for Incurable patients. I am writing to you thinking I might make some arrangement for you to take him, and care for him as long as he should live, which I do not think will be very long. I want to do the best I can for this poor man, and I am told that there is no place where he will be better cared for. This man has no friends that can help in any way; what is paid for him will be paid by the County. I trust that you can help me, and take this man, and we will pay you whatever you ask for your trouble.

Supt. of the Poor of XXX County,
New York."

Accepted; no pay ever received.

HAVE YOU HEARD

that the poor sick (with cancer beyond hope) need a fireproof Country Home It is an item of news that should not pass unheeded. An Annex to this needed house at Hawthorne, N. Y., on the Westchester hills has been finished, and holds 25 men and women. The important main building should go right up for 100 destitute and homeless cancer cases. The Annex mentioned has proved what the big Home could do by air and comforts, as a tribute of respect to sorrow. $150,000.00 has been received in donations, and we need much more.

The Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer, Sister Nurses
MOTHER ALPHONSA LATHROP, O. S. D., Treas.
No Solicitors Allowed
Rosary Hill Home, Hawthorne, N. Y.

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THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LIV, No. 1 April 1, 1925

CONTENTS

ROCKEFELLERS, INC.—INTERNATIONALISTS . *Arthur Ruhl* 7

HAMPTON, TUSKEGEE AND POINTS NORTH *Robert R. Moton* 15

CEMENTING THE BROKEN YEAR . . . . *Robert W. Bruère* 19

"TO MERCY, PITY, PEACE AND LOVE—" . . *Anto Carte* 23

IF THIS BE HERESY— . *Harry Emerson Fosdick* 29

BRIDGE BUILDING

I. A Visiting Teacher's Day *Mabel Brown Ellis* 30

II. Social Work Enters the School . . . . . *Howard W. Nudd* 32

EVERYCHILD IN PHILADELPHIA *Jacob Billikopf* 35

CITIES, AND THE SOILS THEY GROW FROM . *Patrick Geddes* 40

WHAT HAS SHE DONE WITH IT? . . . . . Brattleboro . . . . . *Martha Bensley Bruère* 45

LETTERS AND LIFE 48

EDITORIALS 50

The Gist of It

IF Arthur Ruhl's over-the-world and under-the-world peregrinations—often in the close company of wars—fitted him to appraise the use of the Carnegie millions for peace, as The Survey said in October, 1924, they fit him none the less for sensing the significance of the Rockefeller millions, which have ranged over the face of the globe—even more widely than Mr. Ruhl—in a stiff war on ignorance and disease (p. 7).

THE vivid portrait by Winold Reiss on p. 14 would serve to introduce—were introduction necessary—the outstanding Negro educator who is principal of Tuskegee Institute has had so much to do with preparing the Southern Negro to take advantage of his new opportunities—in Northern cities as well as Southern villages (p. 15).

THE SURVEY's industrial editor goes behind the returns of unemployment insurance experience in the Chicago men's clothing industry to trace its bearings on the maturing technique of industrial organization (p. 19).

THRONGS of men and women of many faiths who have filled the First Presbyterian Church in New York to hear Harry Emerson Fosdick, Baptist liberal and prophet, bade him farewell on March first, when his ministry came to an end as a result of action taken by the Presbyterian General Assembly. From his farewell sermon a single page is quoted on p. 29; The Survey comments on p. 52.

THE CHILD as a person and as a member of a highly complicated community has but slowly been recognized by the public schools. The visiting teacher is a tool and symbol of that recognition. A pair of articles on pp. 30 and 32 tell briefly the visiting teacher's story.

THE CHILD as a factor in and a product of a circumscribed family life—bound about by the city's compromise with decency and industry's compromise with human values—has been but slowly recognized by social work. The case of the child in Philadelphia is outlined on p. 35.

PATRICK GEDDES, town-planner, city-planner, world-planner, contributes to this number (p. 40) the second of the Talks from the Outlook Tower which began in the February Graphic. New readers will want to turn back to Lewis Mumford's sketch of the man in that issue.

SPEAKING of planning—that heroic effort to project intelligence into the physical environment of our work, play and home-keeping, The Survey for May (we repeat) will be devoted chiefly to the presentation of a fresh approach to the problem of organizing city and country into a related environment in which the good life may be purchased without the futile sacrifices which most of us—in big and small communities—are now driven to make in the search for it. The issue will first sketch the evidences of a new tide of population which may drain our cities and restore the spacious life to millions now cramped; will then trace the outlines of the dilemma into which the great cities are irresistibly drawn; and will project the promise of the regional community.

APPARENTLY Count Karolyi is to leave the United States still bound by the promise which our embassy at London exacted as a condition of granting him a passport to join his sick wife—that he should abstain from all political writing or speaking while he was here. Count Karolyi's role in Hungary has been such that many Americans would have been glad to hear his interpretation of recent events in that country, of which he was the first president. Chief among these are his compatriots, a group of whom, as American citizens, appeal to President Coolidge in the name of the Friends of the Magyar Republic: "We do not seek the cause of the powers behind this action. We simply feel that while foreign personages of aggressively autocratic record and intentions, persons whose political existence depends on religious and racial war, are admitted to the country unconditionally, the man whose ideals are built upon fundamentally American principles, whose only offense is that he forsook the caste of the feudal lords of Hungary, who are still scheming to restore the age-old enemy of the Magyar race, the Hapsburgs, the most hated family in the history of the world, is not allowed to move, act, speak and write freely." Even to those of us who have no racial interest at stake, the situation bears a sinister resemblance to Hendrik Willem Van Loom's frontispiece on the next page.

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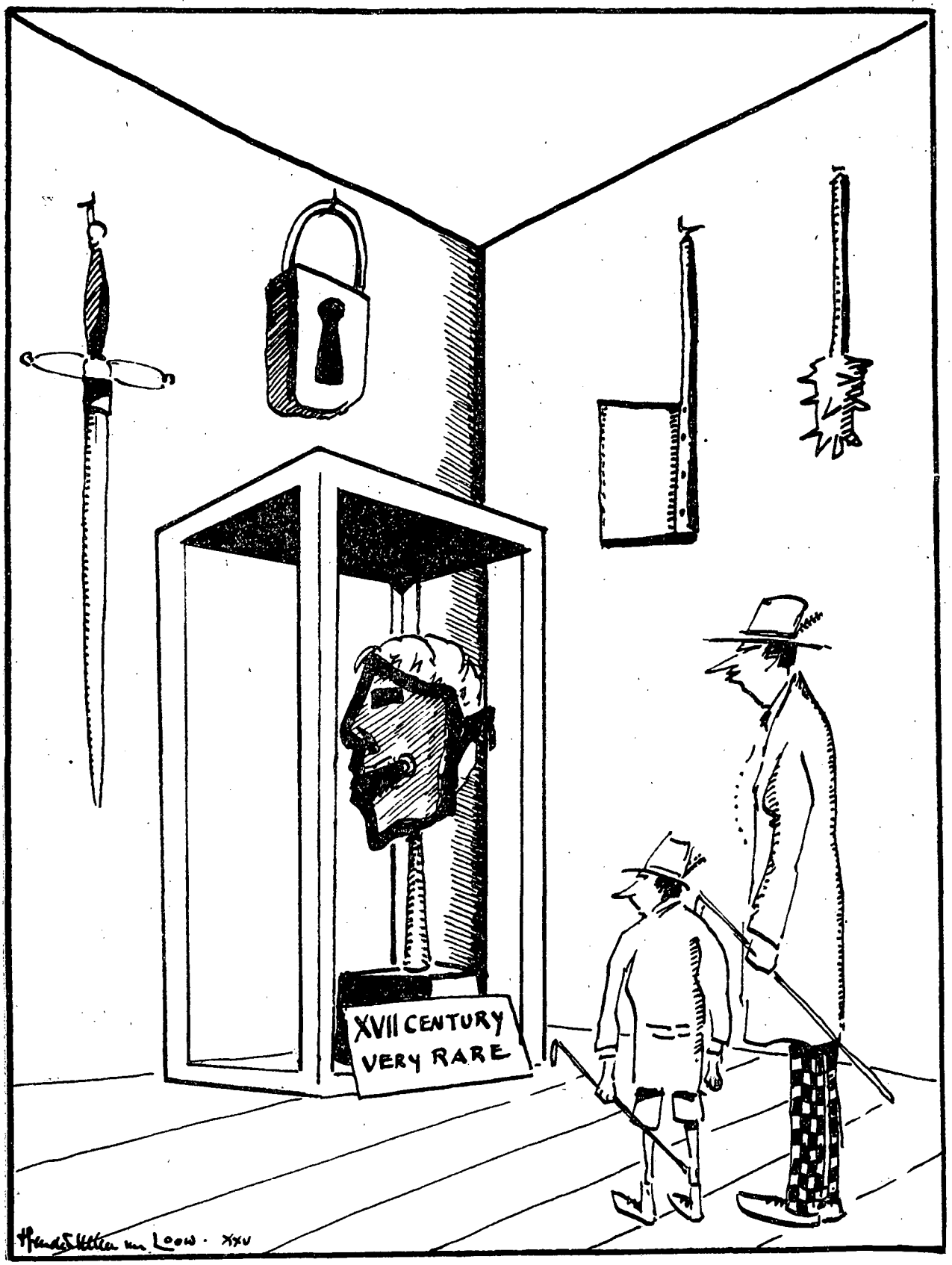

By Hendrik Willem Van Loon

FROM THE CHAMBER OF HORRORS

And what is that curious thing, Papa?
That, my son, is an iron mask with which kings, hundreds of years ago, used to gag their political enemies

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THE SURVEY
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Rockefellers, Inc. — Internationalists

By ARTHUR RUHL

A MILLION dollars is a rather powerful storage-battery and any man who gives away a million sets in motion forces whose ultimate thrust will reach far beyond his individual orbit. *Splash* goes the million into our common pond, and its final wavelets will slap on who shall say what distant sands!

In this thin and vicarious sense, all of our millionaire philanthropists are adventurers and explorers, but in a more everyday sense, and thinking of their general method and state of mind, most of them have stayed at home. A man gives to the town in which he was born or to the college which helped to educate him. He remembers a draughty church in which he shivered as a boy and determines that every church in his native state shall be as comfortable as a Pullman car. Having known a particularly homeless orphan, he leaves a fund big enough to put an orphan-asylum on every hill. The personal touch: the sums are huge but the method and state of mind are the same as those of the Good Fellow who gives some poor family a Christmas turkey.

No long scrutiny of the Rockefeller philanthropies—something like $500,000,000 in the past ten years—is required to perceive that here something very different has happened. Somewhere in that long trail leading back to the days when the pious young clerk used to give a dollar or two of his meagre salary to some widowed scrubwoman in the same store, the Rockefeller millions crossed a bridge. You may not be able to find that bridge in the haze of motives, influences and events, but it led quite concretely, nevertheless, to a different world.

Mr. Rockefeller himself remained, so far as the public knows him, on the near side of that bridge, a pious, rather dry old gentleman, who plays golf and keeps out of the newspapers. To Americans he stands as a sort of monument, a relic of that vanished age in which unrestricted private enterprise and modern science and transportation were turned loose on the riches of a virgin continent. It sometimes seems—although Henry Ford suggests otherwise—that the day of such private fortunes is past. To Europeans he often seems the archetype of the Yankee millionaire, to fit a pattern their novelists and play-writers have constructed, in which material success is framed in puritanism and piety, emotional parsimony joined with spendthrift power, and a career beginning in commercial ruthlessness ends in enlightened philanthropy.

However that may be—and it is not the story we have to tell here—to whatever new horizons such influences as the foreign missionary spirit and the worldwide quest and market for oil may have led or beckoned him, the founder of the Rockefeller boards must needs, like any one man of his generation, have rested, in many senses, on the hither side of that aforesaid bridge. There he stands, in the popular imagination, not greatly changed—as who of us past thirty does greatly change!—from the canny country-merchant of half a century ago. And over yonder, beyond that bridge across which he sent his millions, such enterprises as the International Health Board, the International Education Board, the Institute for Medical Research, educators, pathologists, scientific pioneers of many sorts, and a whole world of interests and aspirations as definitely outside the immediate, personal horizon of their remote author, as, necessarily, were the experiments of his company's chemists in the best methods of utilizing the by-products of petroleum.

While the establishment of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913, with its aim of "promoting the well-being of mankind throughout the world," marked the definite internationalizing of the Rockefeller philanthropies, the latter had already left the region of personal interest and association with the starting of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in 1901.

"Somewhere in the long trail leading back to the days when a young clerk used to give a dollar from his pay to the widowed scrubwoman in the same store, the Rockefeller millions crossed a bridge." That bridge led to "the well-being of mankind throughout the world." The journalist who in the October Survey Graphic reviewed the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace here appraises the Rockefeller foundations

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Medical research, in the nature of things, draws from and contributes to the common stock of knowledge. The experts who were to study and experiment at the Institute belonged to a different gallery altogether from that of the capitalist whose wealth gave them leisure and opportunity. He could not speak their language and share their point of view in the sense that he could speak the language and share the enthusiasm of the college president who often used to spend weeks-ends with Mr. Rockefeller and whom cartoonists of the nineties used to picture as a bloodhound pursuing a breathless Eliza (Mr. Rockefeller) across the ice.

With the establishment of the Institute, the Rockefeller bequests ceased to be merely larger examples of the sort of gift which their donor had been making ever since his boyhood. They began to reach out to vaguer and vaster ends, the value of which as well as the means of reaching them could only be measured by specialists; they left the United States and in scores of different directions and ways began to touch the world at large.

Mr. Rockefeller's earlier benefactions had been a good deal influenced by his Baptist affiliations. Several of his associates—Dr. Frederick T. Gates, for example, long his business and benevolence representative, and Dr. Wallace Buttrick, the present chairman of the General Education Board and, in a sense, the dean of Mr. Rockefeller's philanthropic lieutenants, both began their careers as Baptist clergymen. Prior to 1900, he had acted largely through the American Baptist Education Society and out of this association grew Chicago University, to which before he withdrew from its support, he gave some $45,000,000. The Baptist Education Society had worked out a plan for secondary and higher education for members of its own denomination in which Mr. Rockefeller assisted, and out of this plan developed in 1903 the General Education Board. The latter adopted the society's main ideas and extended them, but dropped the denominational and other limitations.

From the General Education Board, with its help to colleges and schools all over the United States, it was a natural step, if not for Mr. Rockefeller himself, at any rate for the specialists whom his millions had set in motion, to the International Education Board, created in 1923, which aims to do in the world at large what the G. E. B. does in the United States. Mr. Rockefeller's interest in the Baptist Church and hence in its foreign missions, plus the contacts growing out of the Institute for Medical Research, would seem to have led, naturally, to the China Medical Board and the Peking Union Medical College, a modern "western" medical school set down in China and one of the most picturesque of the Rockefeller accomplishments. From malaria and hookworm campaigns through whole states in the South, it was not a long step to similar public-health campaigns in foreign countries.

The world-outlook of the Standard Oil Company itself must have had a good deal to do with preparing Mr. Rockefeller's mind for sending his millions across that invisible "bridge" and the breadth and thoroughness of his philanthropies has been partly due to the applications to the giving away of his money of the same business methods used in acquiring it. Before proceeding to the general scheme of the Rockefeller boards and particularly their work abroad, it may be well to consider this matter of method a bit further.

WHILE Mr. Rockefeller began his giving when a young man, it does not appear to have been done emotionally and at haphazard, but as a part of his scheme of things, something taught to him along with piety and thrift. As his fortune grew, it became a business. That is to say, nothing was done without a thorough "survey" and funds were not invested unless they seemed likely to yield to the cause helped a suitable return.

The Foundation, for example, gives no money as loans to individuals, for investment in securities on a philanthropic rather than a business basis, to finance altruistic movements involving private profit, or for propaganda to influence public opinion. While, in given instances, these rules may stand in the way of action along unconventional but promising paths, they have kept the Foundation out of much distracting controversy, disposed of a large part of the desultory applications for help received each year, and permitted it to concentrate on plans worked out by its own organization.

Following out the idea of applying business ideas to giving, the various boards aim to attack causes rather than to relieve effects temporarily and do not, as a rule, support objects which could or ought to be cared for by their own neighborhoods. They might, for example, decline to finance a mountain school in some remote region in the South, not because the school wasn't a good thing, but because the dumping of a large sum in a community with little surplus, or without the habit of supporting public institutions, might mean that the people who ought to build such a school—the more substantial citizens of the same state—would never be pushed to take it up.

The large sums given to American schools and colleges have been either for limited periods or conditional on the raising, by those helped, of still larger amounts. Thus the more than $57,000,000 given to some 290 institutions by the General Education Board up to July, 1923, for general endowment, resulted in the raising of a total of some $201,000,000.

An interesting example of the Rockefeller methods is furnished by the work done in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture in farm-demonstration and the organizing of boys' corn clubs and girls' canning clubs. When the General Education Board made its first survey of educational needs in the southern states, public education there was far behind that in the rest of the country. The total budget in several of the states was grotesquely meagre, salaries correspondingly low, and in some states laws made it impossible to increase taxes for educational purposes.

"A well-organized state system," according to the G.E.B. report for 1915, "conducted by properly qualified officials efficiently supervising comfortable schools, in charge of trained teachers during a term of sufficient length, did not exist a decade ago in the South."

The survey showed that the people were simply too poor. "It was obvious that the G.E.B. could render no substantial service until the farmers of the South could provide themselves with larger incomes." The Board's secretary spent almost a year in traveling and studying the best method of teaching better farming. It was in the early days of the boll-weevil. Dr. Knapp, of the United States Department of Agriculture, started a demonstration farm in Texas to prove that cotton could be raised despite the boll-weevil. He believed that once the farm-demonstration

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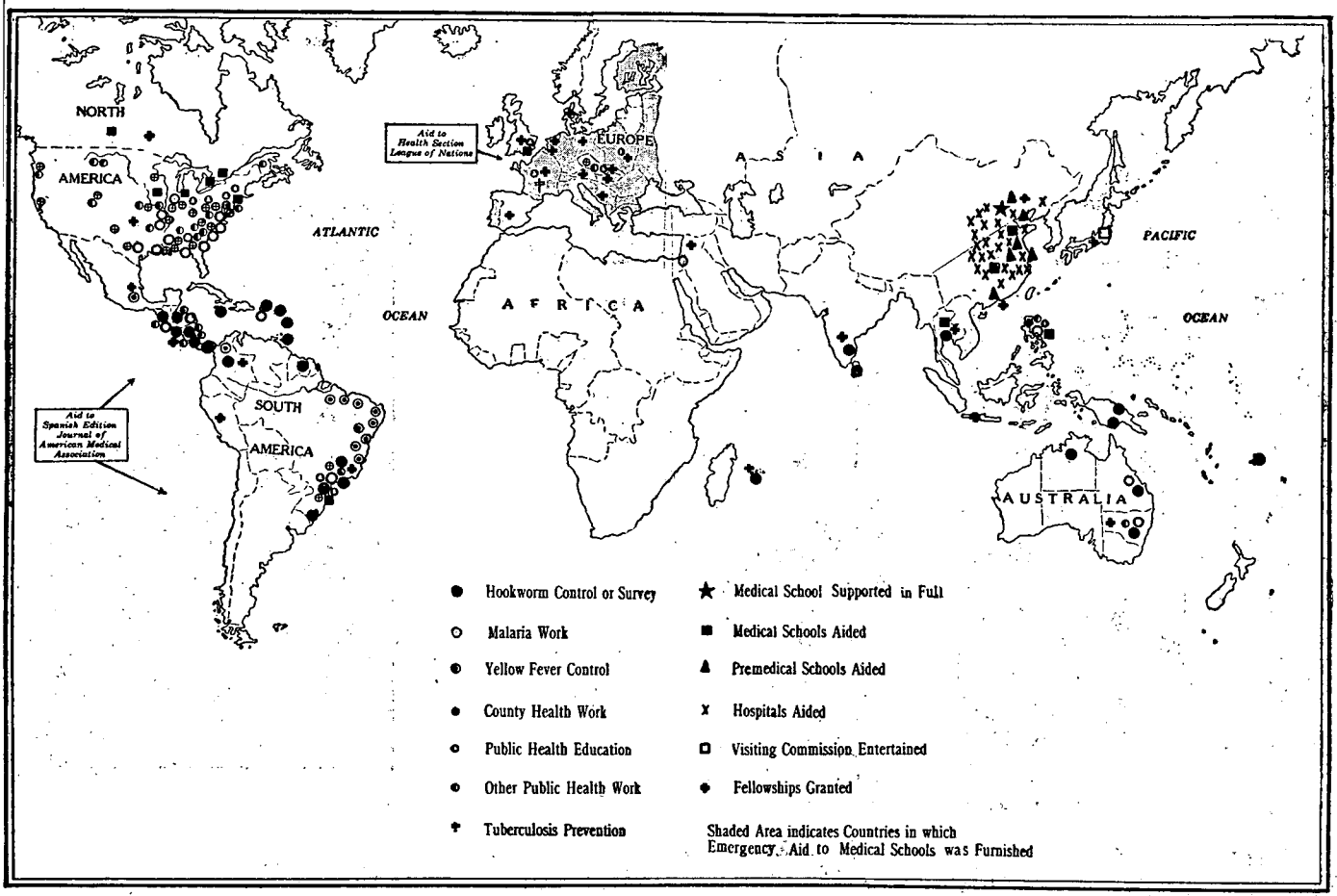

The International Health Board serves the world

idea "took," it would spread until it became an accepted part of rural education.

The G.E.B. cooperated with him, with the result that while demonstration work in the weevil-infected states was carried on with government funds appropriated by Congress for that purpose, that in the other states was supported by the G.E.B. The whole story—of taller corn, better cotton, houses painted and fences repaired, youngsters set on the road to becoming good farmers and the farming practice of their elders improved—has been too many times told to need repetition here. The interesting fact, so far as our present discussion goes, is that instead of giving money directly to schools, the Rockefeller board started in to raise the whole economic level of a section of the country. The South was peppered with farm-demonstration centers. In time and coincident with this, and seemingly a partial result of it, there was a general betterment of public education throughout the South.

The Rockefeller Foundation, the largest of the Rockefeller funds, to which about $183,000,000 has thus far been given, was incorporated in 1913 and carries on its work through: (1) the International Health Board, an outgrowth, in 1913, of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, which had been working against hookworm in the South since 1910; (2) the China Medical Board (1914); and the Division of Medical Education (1919). A fourth section, known as the Division of Studies, organized in 1923, might be described as a sort of scout or experimental department for the study of projects to be turned over to other boards later on.

Outside the Foundation are four other boards: (1) the General Education Board (1903) to which some $130,000,000 has been given thus far; (2) the Institute of Medical Research (1901); the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in memory of Mrs. Rockefeller (1918); and the International Education Board (1923). All of these boards, with the exception of the G.E.B., are working, in one sense or another, in the international field.

THE Institute for Medical Research is international in its personnel—the Frenchman, Dr. Carrel, and the Japanese, Dr. Noguchi are known to a wide public—and in some of its concrete services, such as the lending of experts to the International Health Board for research in malaria and yellow fever in South America and Africa. But research, in the nature of things, as has already been pointed out, knows no national boundaries.

The Institute, to which Mr. Rockefeller had given about $40,000,000 up to 1924, has its main laboratories and hospital in New York city, between Sixty-fourth and Sixty-eighth streets overlooking the East River, and a Department of Animal Pathology at Princeton, N. J. Its aim, as its name suggests, is to reach the causes of disease, and in pursuit of this aim it studies the general processes of disease, the action of bacteria, protozoa and the higher animal parasites; pathological conditions due to food poisons and lack of nourishment; the course of epidemics and the problem of immunity to them, and whatever is pertinent to the ends in view.

It is governed by a board of trustees and a board of scientific directors, the former handling the physical property and the latter the scientific work and both so dove-tailed

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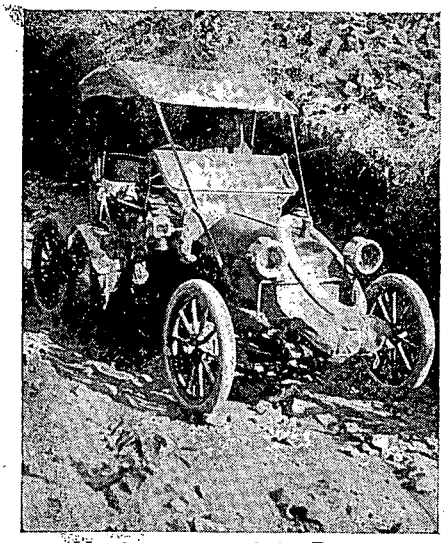
Around the World *with the*

The Rockefeller Foundation through the International in public health and medica

Going for fish to devour larvae of yellow fever mosquitoes in Mexico

"Unhooking" the hookworm in New Guinea

Eighty-nine hookworms and eighty-one ascarides removed from this boy in Brazil by one treatment

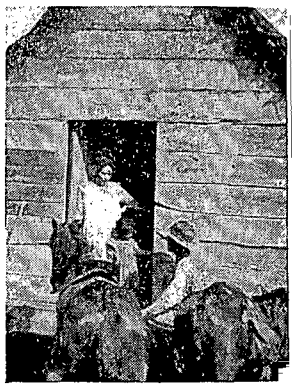


Hookworm work in Panama

Assembled for hookworm treatment in Guatemala

Public health laboratory in Salvador aided by International Health Board

Hunting malaria mosquitoes under houses in Georgia



Inspector giving sanitary inspection in Porto Rico

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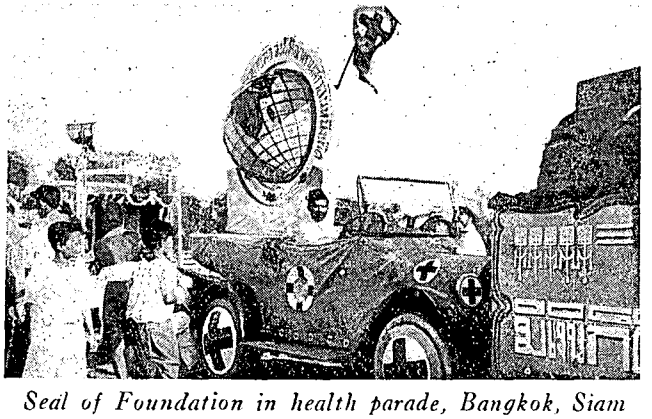
Rockefeller Representatives

Health Board and its other departments carries on work education in many lands

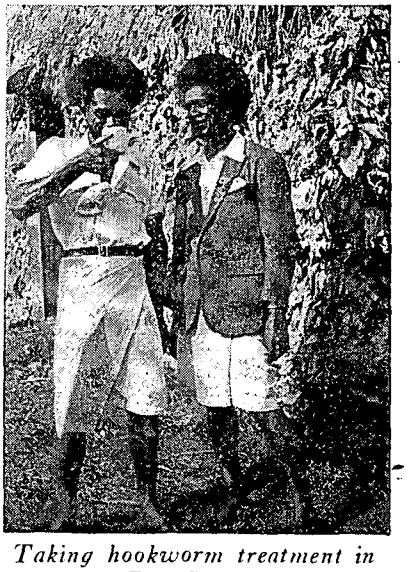
Nurses whom the International Health Board has helped to train on tour of inspection in the Philippines

Hookworm treatment in Ceylon

Chief native assistant, hookworm campaign, Papua

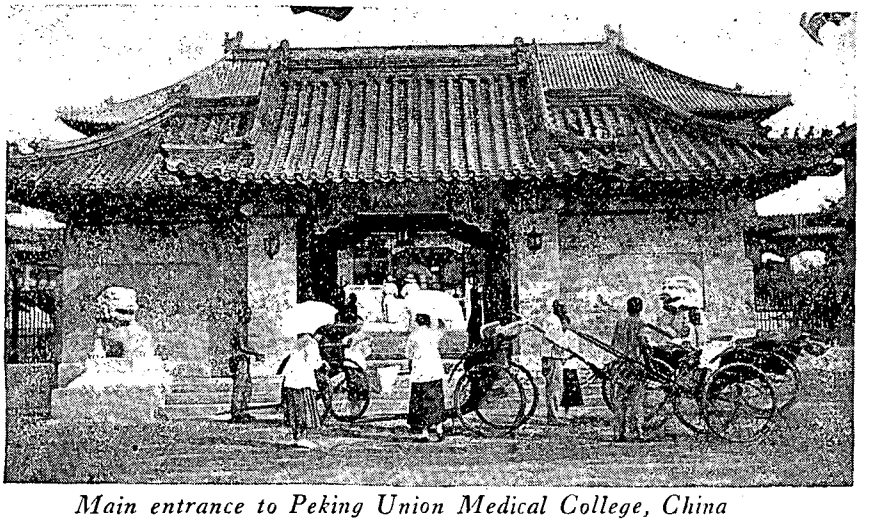


Seal of Foundation in health parade, Bangkok, Siam



Taking hookworm treatment in Fiji Islands

Native Hindu aid in India



Main entrance to Peking Union Medical College, China

Making blood tests to determine amount of malaria in Palestine

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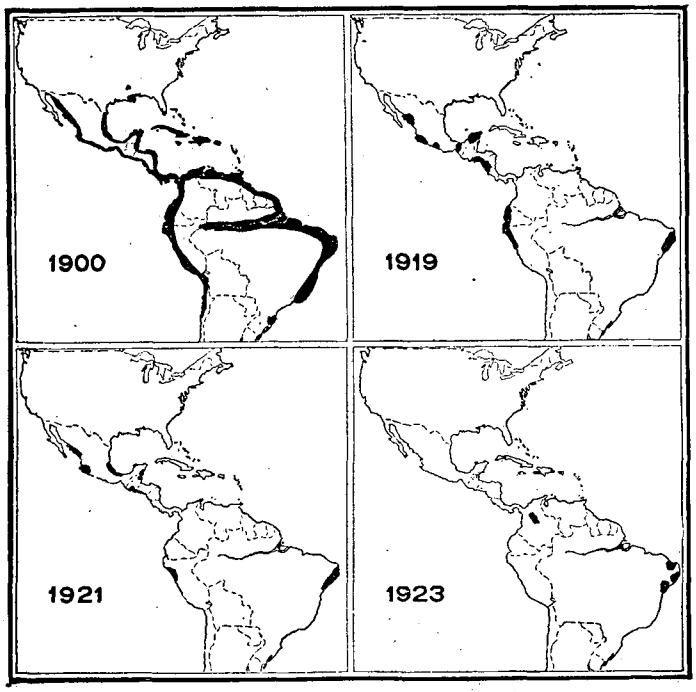
that while the trustees have the benefit of the advice of the scientific members the latter are not hindered in their research work by laymen. The results of the Institute's work are first reported in scientific journals and later assembled in volumes called Studies From the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Each of these volumes contains about 600 pages and forty-seven have appeared since 1904. "All discoveries and inventions made by any person while receiving compensation from the Institute become its property to be placed freely by it at the service of humanity."

The hospital run in connection with the Institute is naturally a means for clinical study of the diseases under investigation. Bulletins are sent out to physicians stating the diseases, "specimens," so to speak, of which are desired, and the patients sent, in response, may be of any class. Members of the Rockefeller boards themselves are not infrequently treated there. The treatment is free and it is understood that each patient is entitled to the best treatment possible. His only responsibility is to submit to a somewhat more thorough observation than under the care of the ordinary doctor.

Research is not something a visitor can see, nor this the place to discuss in any detail the scientific work of the Institute, but a layman walking through the buildings comes away with certain general impressions, nevertheless. He sees corridors, laboratories, hospital wards, spotless stables where apparently contented horses are making serums; all the usual appurtenances of medical and chemical experiment —only with a certain added air of solidity, freedom from hurry and worry, of thoroughness.

There are rooms full of caged white mice, a crowded town, so to speak, with its streets and houses, through which may be studied the progress of an epidemic, its peaks and drops; which become infected, which remain immune. Here and there in the corridor walls is the brass plug of an electro-cardiograph, a fascinating machine by which the action of a patient's heart, beating downstairs in his hospital bed, can be seen on a movie screen in a laboratory several floors above, like a sort of animated fever-chart. There



The conquest of yellow fever in America

is an oxygen-room, entered through a "lock" like an underwater caisson, in which a patient, desperately ill with pneumonia, can lie in an ordinary bed with no special apparatus over his face, and breathe a highly-oxygenated atmosphere, not merely for a few moments, but, if need be, for days at a time. Pipes and fans carry off the carbonic acid gas as fast as he exhales it; the lights are so arranged that they add nothing to the temperature of the chamber; there are all sorts of little devices made of brass and glass as neat as a ship's compass. One patient, so I was told, was kept here for a fortnight and his life saved thereby. These "sights" tell nothing, of course, of the scientific work of the Institute, but I mention them as suggestive of the last-wordness which seems to pervade the place.

Personalities are not encouraged by the Rockefeller boards, but in such an account as this it may not be out of place to recall the contribution which Dr. Alexis Carrel and his coworkers made to the treatment of wounds during the War and the story of Dr. Hideyo Noguchi. Two American physicians were visiting Japan and the Japanese youth who took in their card one day asked them to take him to America. This was not convenient, but they gave the boy their address and a year or two later, still in his native costume, he appeared at Johns Hopkins University, in search of his American acquaintances. It was this young Japanese who later joined the Institute's forces, discovered the germ of yellow fever and prepared a serum which has been used with success. He made practicable what is known as the luetin test for certain obscure sorts of syphilis and added much to the understanding of the nature of infantile paralysis. Noguchi has visited Ecuador, Yucatan and other parts of tropical America as one of the Institute's bacteriologists and has been one of the most helpful individual forces in the effort of the International Health Board to stamp out yellow fever.

The growth of the science of bacteriology in the past two generations, the discovery that animals can be immunized to disease not only by living germs but by cultures from those which have been sterilized, that animals and insects are carriers of diseases which attack man, all this has changed the attitude toward disease and increased the importance of research. A disease is no longer looked on simply as an intruder, a sort of highwayman or burglar, to be fired out of the body regardless. To dispose of a burglar by heaving a dynamite bomb at him would be scarcely an economical way of getting rid of him if one wrecked the house and killed several of its inmates. Similarly, a bacillus must be treated with a certain respect, as if he, too, had a certain social importance, and a physician must take into consideration all the factors surrounding the companionship between him and what bacteriologists quaintly call his "host." All this calls for a broader knowledge and a subtler approach than our forefathers possessed—for such equipment, funds, personnel, and freedom from distraction and material worries, as are gathered in the Institute and rarely supplied except through private endowment.

THE Rockefeller Foundation (I shall pass over the General Education Board, inasmuch as its work has been limited to the United States) was established in 1913. The original endowment was $100,000,00 and to this has since been added sums which make a total of about $183,000,000. Parts of the principal as well as the income have been spent,

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so that in January, 1925, there remained a capital of some $165,000,000 yielding an income of about $8,700,000.

The Foundation's aim, "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world" might well bewilder the amateur, but the list of "don'ts" already mentioned simplified the job, and it was further boiled down by limiting the field practically to public health and medical education.

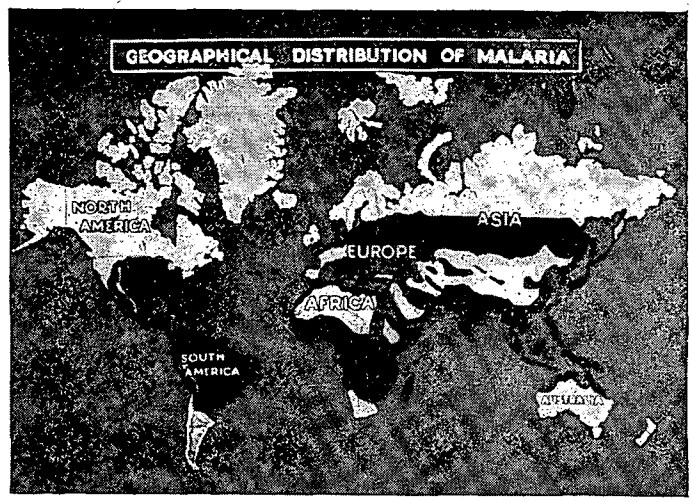
The attitude of the Foundation toward its task of "promoting the welfare of mankind" might almost be described as biological. It aims to improve the animal man and make him as safe and comfortable as may be in his environment—politics, religion, and social problems are in another gallery. This attitude is illustrated by the answer made to a rather obvious question suggested by the work in China.

The density of China's population, its low standard of living, the famines and plagues which periodically sweep portions of the country as if Nature were trying to dispose of the surplus population, are common knowledge. If public health is improved and infant mortality reduced, will not the Chinese become, so to speak, "too healthy"? Just so many more individuals to divide the already scanty amount of food and other material wealth? A Harvard professor has expressed dire forebodings along this line in a book, Mankind at the Crossroads, and he speaks of the "naive" way in which the Rockefeller Foundation has entered China.

The answer of the Foundation is that any sound civilization presupposes healthy bodies and a certain mastery over the diseases hostile to them. The Foundation's job is to prevent disease and make people healthy. Even if epidemics took only the unfit—and just the reverse was true in our own flu and pneumonia epidemic during the war—fevers, famines and other plagues cannot be regarded as a civilized way of reducing population. The Foundation has enough to do to destroy disease. The problems growing out of the presence of too many healthy people are for those healthy people to decide in their own right.

As already explained, the Foundation has four sections—the International Health Board, China Medical Board, Division of Medical Education and Division of Studies. Some notion of the character of its activities may be suggested by the following, taken more or less at random from a score of undertakings mentioned in the report for 1923:

(1) Supplied fellowships for 636 individuals in 29 different countries; (2) supported through League of Nations interchange health-institutes for 54 public-health officers from 27 nations; (3) arranged international visits of one commission and 24 visiting professors; (4) furnished emergency relief in form of medical literature or laboratory equipment to 15 European nations; (5) sent scientific material to Japan after the earthquake and invited group of Japanese medical scientists to use laboratories of Peking Union Medical College as guests of institution; (6) continued to contribute to schools or institutes of hygiene at Harvard, London, Prague, Warsaw, Sao Paulo; (7) accepted invitation from Brazil to participate in comprehensive attack on yellow fever; (8) either continued or began anti-hookworm work in conjunction with 20 governments in various parts of world; (9) contributed to 183 county health organizations in United States, Brazil and Canada; (10) had share in demonstrations of malaria control in 12 American states and conducted malaria surveys and studies in United States, Brazil, Australia, Nicaragua, Porto Rico, Salvador, the Philippine Islands and Palestine; (11) continued study of medical schools by visits to Belgium, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, Hong Kong, Straits Settlements, Siam, Canada, England, Scotland, Wales, Netherlands, Mexico and Colombia.



The world war against malaria

Put in another way, the Foundation had spent some $85,000,000 up to the end of 1923, roughly divided as follows:

Medical Education	$29,628,000
Emergency Relief (War, etc.)	22,299,000
Public Health	21,364,000
Other philanthropic work	10,602,000
Administration	1,298,000

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the need of "making a business of giving" when philanthropies spread to such proportions as this. Indeed, to talk with the heads of some of the Rockefeller boards is much like talking with the head of some firm of ship builders, or importers and exporters, not to say a chief of staff during an active campaign. On the wall hang maps of Europe, the Far East, South America, spotted with dots, circles, stars, crosses and what not, standing for anti-disease campaigns of various sorts, or universities, medical schools or hospitals regarded as more or less "covering" their different neighborhoods. And the talk runs along coast lines, and hops from Tokio to Bangkok or Sydney to Guayaquil, hurdling climates, languages, religions, and centuries of historical difference at every jump, as nonchalantly as if you were counting a row of fence-posts.

THE International Health Board, which grew out of the Rockefeller anti-hookworm work in our own South, aims to promote public health by demonstrating the means through which common plagues like malaria, hookworm, tuberculosis and yellow fever can be stamped out or controlled, and by encouraging schools of hygiene and health agencies of all sorts. It has cooperated with thirty-one of our own states and fifty-one foreign governments. It regards the control of diseases as a proper function of government, and has tried to assist governments rather than to impose its own programs, to let the initiative be taken by those helped, and to work with the understanding that the whole responsibility will eventually be taken over by local authority.

This policy—of keeping the Rockefeller name "out of it" as far as possible and letting work speak for itself—has contributed to a certain reticence on the part of the administrative heads which is not without its humor. They dislike publicity, or "exploitation," as they call it, not for the usual reason of dreading criticism but because they dread praise!

A little consideration of the problems in hand (the embarrassments lurking in (*Continued on page* 54)

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ROBERT R. MOTON

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Hampton, Tuskegee and Points North

By ROBERT R. MOTON

HAMPTON and Tuskegee and Points North! A call like this has been sounding in every important railroad center in the South since 1915, varying according to location whether in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina or Louisiana. It has been the signal for thousands of Negroes to gather their bundles, dress-suit cases and lunch boxes, and board the trains for the great industrial centers of the North—Detroit, Chicago, Akron, Pittsburgh, Newark, New York, Springfield, Cleveland and Buffalo. Some have been content to take a shorter flight and have stopped off at Birmingham, Chattanooga, Newport News and Norfolk; but all of them have been impelled by a vision, sometimes vague and dim, sometimes sharp and clear, of better wages, better living conditions and better opportunities than have been theirs on the farms and plantations of the South.

Estimates of the numbers who have joined in this migration have varied all the way from 350,000 to 1,000,000 but all have agreed that there has been a steady exodus from the country to the city, from the soil to the factory. The consequences have aroused attention both in the section from which they have come and in the section to which they have moved. The movement itself has altered conditions which they left behind and is altering the very conditions which they hoped to find. For a time the agricultural program of certain sections of the South was completely upset. In some places there was an almost complete stagnation of farming operations. Negro farm laborers left at all seasons of the year, and many a crop was left ungathered because there were no hands to take it in.

Had such a movement occurred a generation earlier the result might have been very different not alone for the Negro but for the South whose economic system is so largely dependent upon Negro labor: and the North would have been utterly unable to absorb so great an access to its population. But two conditions operated simultaneously with this movement of the Negroes. One was the expansion of industry in the North consequent on the war, coupled with the depletion of the ranks of immigrant labor by those returning home to fight. The other was the fact that for nearly fifty years strong influences had been at work among Negroes which enabled them to adapt themselves more quickly to the change from rural to urban life and from agricultural to industrial pursuits.

This vast movement of the Negro population was the result of a wartime demand for labor in the industrial centers North and South. Negroes had long felt the restraint of restricted opportunities in the South. Individuals and small groups had all along been finding release in various sections of the North, but the great masses were compelled to remain where they were, as there was at that time no disposition to exploit the labor supplies of the South. During the same period there was a mighty influence at work below Mason and Dixon's Line enlarging the outlook of the Negro and preparing the race not only to take advantage of new opportunities but to create opportunities for themselves in the midst of surrounding conditions.

This influence was the Hampton-Tuskegee movement inaugurated by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong at Hampton, Virginia, in 1868 and expanded by his pupil, Booker T. Washington, at Tuskegee in the years succeeding through the remarkable spread of his gospel of industry and self-reliance throughout the whole of the Negro race. In its early development it was called industrial education, but thoughtful observers have long since come to see that the work of Hampton and Tuskegee is not the training of men and women as mere units of industry, but rather the training of the individual, indeed to be self-supporting, but at the same time to be a contributing element to community life—to be conscious factors in every community for establishing the highest ideals of American life and inspiring all whom they touch to win salvation for themselves and to create by their own efforts that new and better order of things which it had been vainly hoped would come from the hands of others.

Hampton was the pioneer in this movement. Down in the Tidewater section, General Armstrong at the close of the Civil War took refugees that had gathered from the plantations of that section and began the solution of their problems by teaching them to work with their hands while they trained their minds and developed the fundamental attributes of industry, thrift, self-reliance and self-respect. He worked, of course, with those who came to him, establishing a school to combine labor with books in the process of education; developing the head, the hand and the heart at the same time. But he did not stop there. He reached out to the homes and communities from which his students came and set up there for fathers and mothers the same standards and ideals of home surroundings and character development that he was creating for the young men and women who came to him as students. Home and community became the ultimate objectives of his labors. Boys and girls that came to him as students were impressed with the idea that their training was not merely for their individual success, but rather that they should be positive factors in improving life and conditions wherever they might locate.

Of all who came to him, the one pupil most apt to catch this vision was Booker T. Washington. Out he went from Hampton to translate his inspiration into deeds. Called to Alabama to take charge of a projected school, he immediately set himself to work out in terms of local conditions the ideas that were instilled in him at Hampton. From the very beginning he conceived of the whole South as his schoolroom and the entire Negro race as his class. The one subject which he taught was life. Arithmetic, reading, geography, history, were all interpreted in terms of the life surrroundings of his students. He talked of the life they lived. Everyday he put them to work creating life for themselves, building their own buildings, making their own

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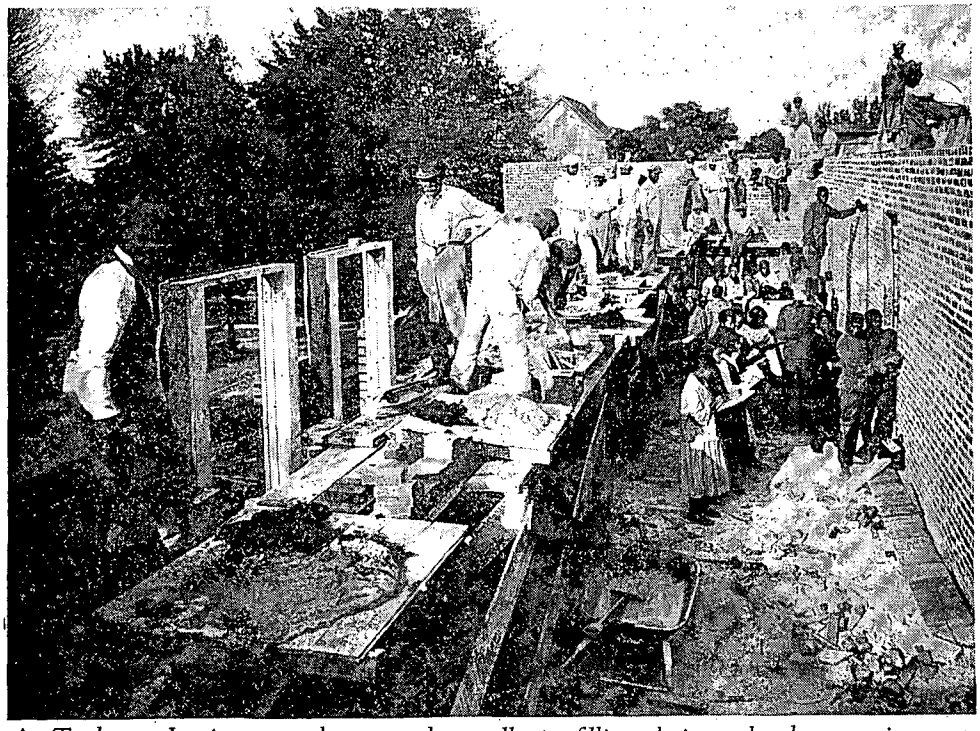

At Tuskegee Institute—students on the wall are filling their trades-day requirements while the lower group are working out mathematical problems

tools, producing their own food, making their own clothes and in a hundred other ways supplying their own needs. These were the things they talked about in their class rooms. These were the problems they figured out and then he talked of conditions as they had just left them at home. He went out to visit their parents. He went into their homes, into their churches, into their school-houses; having found the better way of life himself he carried his vision to his people, inspiring them to have things better for themselves and for their children and to win those things by their own industry and worth.

Those two institutions have thus become vastly more than the conventional schools. They have their class-room work as do others, they study books, they write essays and deliver orations, but there is a character and a quality to it all that is unique. That is to say, that *was* unique, for the idea has spread abroad, and though Hampton and Tuskegee are unique exemplars of this larger conception and interpretation of education, yet the idea which they have developed has been appropriated by others. Not only those that style themselves industrial schools, but colleges also are grasping the importance of making their instruction touch life beyond the college walls and making their institutions centers of inspiration and elevation for that larger clientele which includes the households from which the students come and communities to which they go for service.

The influence of this gospel of larger and better living has not been without its effect upon the Negro race as a whole. These institutions have maintained specific agencies for reaching out into the body of the Negro race—farmers' conferences, educational tours, extension departments in all of their ramifications, are an essential part of the work of Hampton and Tuskegee. While the boys and girls were being taught in the class rooms, the fathers and mothers were being reached in the field and in the home; education was carried to them in simple direct terms made plain by demonstrations, with witnesses to testify how the plan had worked with them. The effect was as inspiring as a revival.

Booker Washington made a religion out of life for his people and few indeed were those who heard one of his talks who came away without getting this kind of religion. Everywhere in the South are to be found evidences of its influence. Negroes have been buying land for a generation till today about one-fourth of them own their homes. This is probably not true so largely of any other racial group in America. School facilities have been improved by leaps and bounds, because these institutions have inspired Negroes to undertake the solution of their own educational problems, building their own schools if necessary, supplementing directly out of their own pockets the salaries provided by the state and adding to the school term on their own initiative if the authorized school term was not long enough.

This impulse was extended even to business. A generation ago Negroes were the consumers, other races were the producers and distributors. The idea was set afloat that Negroes could profit by catering to the needs of their own people, that such profit would operate to create larger opportunities for their own race with a corresponding benefit both to the proprietor and to his patrons. Today Negroes are found in all lines of business with many outstanding examples of success, as well as their own share of failures. In one of the Founder's Day addresses at Tuskegee Institute, a prominent member of his own race said that Booker Washington had "changed a *crying* race into a *trying* race." This phrase epitomizes the idea behind Hampton and Tuskegee. General Armstrong gave to the Negro race its first lessons in this sort of self-reliance. Booker Washington inspired the whole race with his confidence which is now being felt in the rapid strides with which the race is advancing.

For a time the South was hesitant as to the effect of this new gospel on the Negro. It welcomed the idea of teaching the Negro to work if that was what was meant by the "dignity of labor"—but for a time there was some apprehension lest behind this idea there should be a subtle force inspiring Negroes to rebel against unsatisfactory conditions and to resist the domination of the Anglo-Saxon who was in control of economic as well as political life in this section. But the years have proved these suspicions unfounded. The South has seen a great change come over the Negro. Education has been found to be profitable not only for the black man but for the white man too. Today the South is more zealous for the improvement of educational conditions for both races than any other section of our country. What was heralded as good for the Negro has been accepted as equally good for white people. As "industrial education" it was accepted for the solution of Negro problems: as "vocational education" it has been adopted by state and federal governments as the solution

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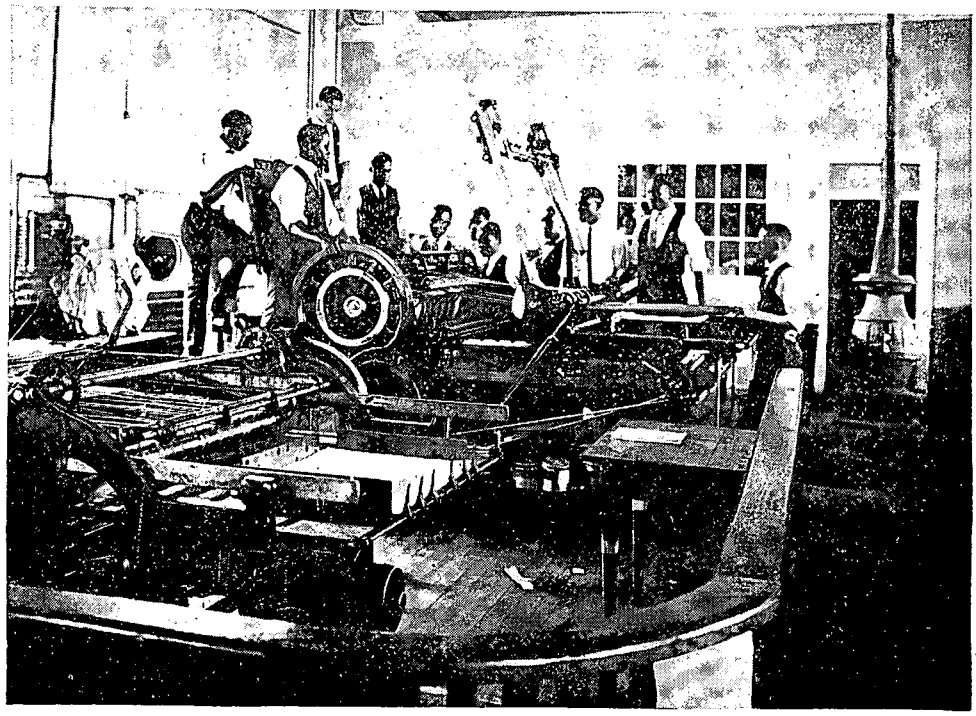
of economic and social problems for both races. On this point Dr. Washington very early found a platform where both races could stand side by side with respect for themselves and for each other. Almost in spite of himself he became through this means a messenger of good will to both races and to both sections.

Through Hampton Institute large-minded men and women of the North expressed their interest in the Negro. Through Tuskegee Institute forward-looking men and women of the South found a way for renewing contacts with the Negro race. When Hollis Burke Frissell appeared on the scene at Hampton, the time was ripe for these three elements to join hands in inaugurating a new program for race relations in the South. Today we hear much talk of inter-racial cooperation, but it began years ago. What was then the faith of a few has become the conviction of many. The confidence sown then is bringing forth a harvest of good will now, and the field is being enlarged continually.



In the division of printing at Tuskegee

A great many unexpected results came out of the war. One of the earliest and most encouraging was the opening up of industrial opportunities for the Negro in the North. Then came the migration. In the wake of this movement many problems developed in both the North and the South. It became necessary to reconstruct the agricultural program of the South. The North was introduced to a new social program. A new bond of sympathy has been established between the two sections. What was considered a sectional problem has become a national problem. What has been considered a racial problem is coming more and more to be recognized as a purely human problem. These problems, however, are not as acute as they might have been but for the influence of Hampton and Tuskegee and other institutions like Howard, Virginia Union, Atlanta, Fisk, Morehouse, Clark and Biddle which have been exerting the same influence on the Negro race.

Negroes who went North were not all raw, unskilled laborers. Out of the industrial schools had come Negroes trained for the requirements of industry—blacksmiths, carpenters, brickmasons, plumbers, steam-fitters, auto-mechanics. When the opportunity came these men were ready for the test to which they were to be subjected. Though the great bulk of those who migrated had had no specific training in these lines, there were enough trained at Tuskegee and Hampton, and other industrial schools as well as industrial plants in the South to make it feasible for Northern manufacturers to experiment with Negro mechanics. In all the industrial centers of the North and South graduates of these schools can be found, and it is a source of satisfaction that they have so far justified the experiment as to remove practically all doubt as to their availability for skilled work in whatever lines are open to them.

These laborers did not go alone, however, so broad was the current of migration that it carried along with it professional men and leaders in business and other lines of activity, trained in the schools of the South. Lawyers, doctors, dentists found it desirable to change their location to the new centers to which their clients had migrated. Even ministers, finding their congregations depleted by the movement, found it possible in not a few instances to establish churches in the North whose memberships were in a large measure composed of their former parishioners in the South.

The initial effect of this on the North was to create a housing problem. Residential sections inhabited formerly by whites were invaded by Negroes under the pressure of expanding population. One reaction to this was the riots in Washington, Chicago and Omaha. Not every city, however, witnessed such violent eruption; Springfield, Cleveland, Akron, Detroit, proceeded to absorb the influx of Negro population without apparent friction. This was nowhere better done than in New York city. Already densely populated, the metropolitan center proceeded to readjustments that have given it the largest Negro population of any city in the country and probably the world. The coming of this excess population presented to the real estate dealers an opportunity for increased profits of which they proceeded immediately to take advantage. Whole blocks of tenements and apartment houses were bought by speculators and turned over to Negro tenants, the former white occupants moving farther up town. By accommodating themselves to limited quarters, many Negro families found comfortable residence in well appointed modern livings, and that, too, without the annoyance or embarrassment of legal residence restrictions.

Harlem is recognized as the Negro section of New York without any requirement of law. Here Negroes have their own theaters, their own newspaper establishments, restaurants, stores, barber shops, offices, and all the other acces-

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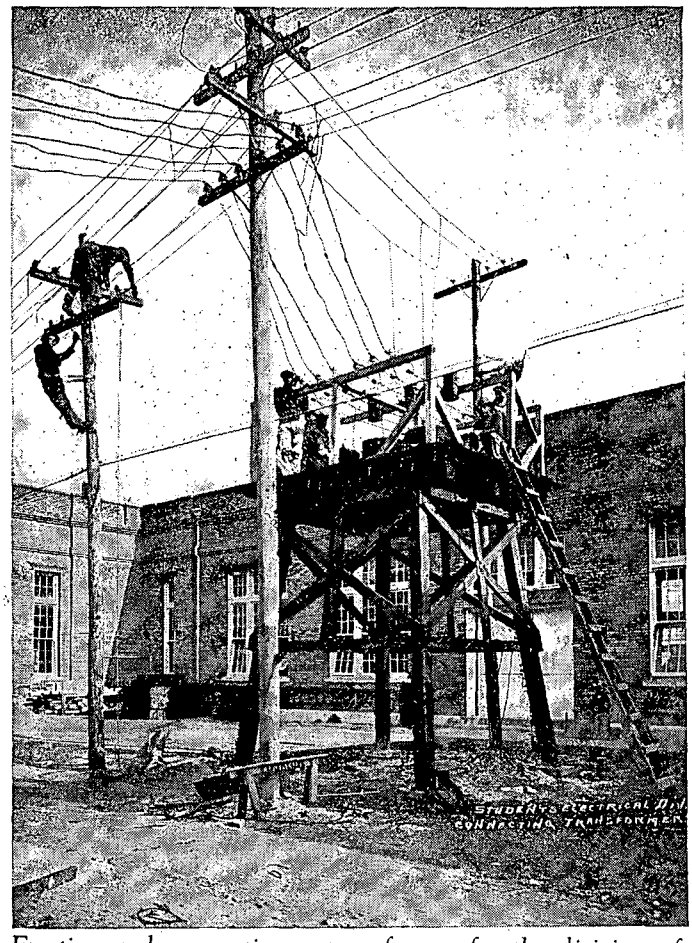

Erecting and connecting a transformer for the division of electricity, Tuskegee

sories and necessities of community life. White merchants still accommodate the bulk of the trade, and it is interesting to observe that groceries and meat markets have made it a point to cater to the tastes and habits that the Negro population have brought from the South. Restaurants serve those dishes to which Negroes have become accustomed, and the markets put in large supplies of these staple products, many of them specially imported from the Southern States.

In New York, as in other cities, there was no great difficulty for the newcomer to find work, but in this city a large proportion of these migrants went into personal service, whereas in other cities like Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Youngstown, employment was found in the industries such as steel mills, automobile factories, and in Chicago the packing plants.

The important thing to observe in all this is that contrary to predictions and many expectations the Negro has found a real place for himself in the North, and has been able with surprising facility to adapt himself to the new conditions. In truth, it is a matter of pride to Negroes themselves to take on the manners and follow the customs that are characteristic of the North. It is surprising, also, to note the cordial and genuinely sympathetic attitude taken towards these newcomers by the older residents, colored and white, not the welfare workers merely, but many of the leading citizens. Newcomers are not infrequently carefully admonished by those who have preceded them as to their dress, manners and habits of speech lest they be ridiculed as having recently come from some Southern plantation.

Much of the easy solution of the housing problem in Northern cities, notably in Harlem, is due to the enterprise of Negro real estate men who have taken the initiative in finding homes for their people. In one city, Springfield, Massachusetts, it is a church that has taken the lead in solving this problem. In many places the Urban League, with other welfare movements, has taken the lead.

New lines of business have opened up with Negro proprietors where formerly no such business existed. It has very often been a surprise to Northern Negroes to witness the energy with which their brethren from the South have taken the leadership in community enterprise.

In the majority of cases the migrants have been quick to take advantage of the improved educational facilities of the North, and have sometimes precipitated the question of segregated schools, itself a tribute to the Negro's eager desire for education. In time this must raise the question of an educational program which will enable the Negro youth to prepare themselves in advance for these new places in industry that are being opened to them. So long as the trade unions exclude Negroes from the opportunities of apprenticeship, it will be necessary for Negro youth to look elsewhere for their training. Some of these are already returning South to the industrial schools there, but these schools find it impossible even now to adequately accommodate their local applicants.

The factor in all this is the leadership of Negro men and women who have received their training in most cases in schools in the South, such as Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, Morehouse, Wiley; these will be found in the professions, in business, in social work, helping their people to take advantage of new opportunities and adjust themselves to new and sometimes hostile conditions.

These are but some of the indications that the leaven of Hampton and Tuskegee is working with increased force throughout the Negro race. It is a matter of common observation within the race that men and women who have been trained in these schools enter into community life with a zeal and enthusiasm which are characteristic. They ally themselves with the churches, literary societies, welfare movements, fraternal organizations and other activities that have for their object the improvement of the Negro race. They are demonstrating that Negroes can succeed where others have succeeded, that Negroes are capable of the same development which other races have manifested when given the same opportunity. In the pursuit of these aims they are developing a race consciousness—a pride, that is really inspiring. For the good name of their people they want to prove themselves worthy of every opportunity that is open to them and have every privilege that is their due as American citizens, and in proportion as they prove themselves capable they win the confidence and respect of the people of both races, and are counted as an asset to the industry, the organization and community with which they are identified. After all, the strongest recommendation that Hampton and Tuskegee have is the character and service of the men and women whom they have trained for the leadership of their people. It not infrequently happens that men and women have caught this same spirit and outlook in other schools—for there are other schools doing the same thing for their students—it generally happens that there is a most happy and effective cooperation between the men and women from all these schools for the highest development of their communities.

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Cementing the Broken Year

Two Years of Unemployment Insurance in Chicago

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

IT is an increasing practice among banks and investment houses to maintain statistical departments one of whose chief functions is to forecast market and industrial conditions. Midway of last summer, the director of one of these departments showed me the graphs, based upon a long term analysis of the fluctuations in the business cycle and more particularly in steel production, which, projected into the future, were to guide the bank's credit operations. These curves indicated that the business depression was likely to continue for some six or nine months, and that while recovery might be expected in certain major industries within a briefer period, the lag of the depression would probably hold other industries in the trough of the cycle well on into the following spring or summer. In the course of our conversation, the business forecaster ventured the opinion that certain recently organized unemployment insurance funds, notably those in the men's clothing industry in Chicago, would probably be exhausted before business recovered its normal stride.

The next morning I chanced to meet Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and gave him a summary of the forecaster's prophesy with reference to the unemployment insurance funds which had been established in the Chicago men's clothing market on the initiative of the union. I expected to see him alarmed by the news. But he remained as calm as the morning. No one was more keenly aware of the seriousness of the business slump that had thrown thousands of tailors out of work and crowded many manufacturers to the wall. But the clothing industry was not defunct. Nor would it be on the morrow; and so long as there was a clothing industry there would be a problem of unemployment—sustained and complete unemployment for thousands in times of dull business, intermittent and irregular employment even in times of brisk trade. Moreover, the normal expansion of the industry over long periods would require a reserve of skilled workers who were entitled to protection. Without such a mobile reserve the industry could not grow; enterprise, initiative and invention would be checked. The immediate situation was one of unusual difficulty; the problem of launching an unemployment insurance scheme would have been simplified if it might have been made on the up instead of the down curve of the business cycle. Psychologically, however, the intensity of the depression had its compensating aspects because it opened men's minds to the necessity of putting an end to procrastination in tackling a permanent and from the point of view of the workers a malignantly evil byproduct of inefficient industrial organization, planning and management.

That was in general his reaction to the bank forecaster's storm signal. But the distinction of Sidney Hillman among trade union executives is that he does not stop at general reactions nor rule of thumb devices for meeting practical problems. His theory of trade union policy is that the existence and continued growth of labor organizations depend upon their ability to make themselves socially and economically indispensable. To make themselves indispensable not only to their members but also to society, they must concern themselves with the stabilization and increasing efficiency of their specific industries as producers of essential commodities. This would seem to mean that he refuses to recognize the validity or economic wisdom of the traditional hard and fast dualism in industrial control, such as that embodied, for example, in Rule 15 of the scale agreement between the coal miners and operators, which says that "the right to hire and discharge, the management of the mine, and the direction of the working forces are vested exclusively in the operator." Not, of course, that he fails to recognize the fundamental differentiation of functions as between owner and technical shop management on the one hand and the union and wage workers on the other. He is a realist, not a Utopian day-dreamer. But he insists that instead of pointing in different directions, the interests of the two parties to the work contract, conflicting as under capitalistic economy they must in certain respects always be, should be focussed on the central problem of efficient production. Both, from their distinct points of view, have a common interest in maintaining the enterprise as an indispensable instrument for the provision of essential commodities to the public. Both have a vital interest in economic security which depends on a steady market demand and the ability of the industry to supply it at a fair price.

It follows that the special concern of the manufacturer who has staked his fortune in the business is to sell what he manufactures; for him the ideal situation would be one in which he could reverse the formula and manufacture only what he knows in advance he is going to be able to sell. One of the primary urges toward monopoly, in our basic industries especially, is the desire of the investor and operating management to simplify the problem of relating production to predetermined demand. The most serious single problem confronting the manufacturers in a highly competitive industry like men's clothing is that of controlling distribution and sales. This has given rise on the one hand to the chain stores and national advertising and on the other to the system of contracting out the manufacture of clothing. Instead of investing the whole of their capital in large and costly factories whose overhead charges must be met whether market demand is brisk or dull, most clothing manufacturers, so-called, have their garments made up by contractors whose capital investments and working forces are small as compared with the corresponding items in the large "inside" shops. Because of the seasoned character of the industry there are always months in the year when the industry runs, at a rough estimate, at not more than

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one-third of capacity; in times of business depression the industry as a whole will again at a rough estimate run at or below 50 per cent of full capacity taking the year as a whole. But precisely because of these fluctuations and the highly speculative element they introduce into the trade, it is essential to the manufacturers to have on call a sufficient number of skilled workers to enable them to take advantage of sudden demands—to make a killing as the saying goes, when buyers rise up in flocks.

NOW it is precisely this situation which vitally concerns the workers also, leads them to hold their ranks solid to withstand the natural temptation of the manufacturer to lengthen hours and cut wages as a means of recouping the losses of dull periods, and leads them also to seek a measure of security through such devices as unemployment insurance. It is not as though they knew in advance when business was going to be good, when bad; it is not as though they knew when they were going to be called to the machines and for how long or how short a time. Skilled workmen do not find it easy to shift from one trade to another, especially when they always live in the expectation that they will be wanted at their old job tomorrow. The men's clothing industry is just emerging from one of the most protracted dull periods in its history, due in some degree to overexpansion during the war and to the competition of such luxuries as the automobile and the radio. It is momentarily overequipped and overmanned. But many closely related industries, such as textiles, have been in the same predicament. It is not unreasonable to live in the hope that European recovery and the waning of the domestic buyers' strike may call for all hands at any moment. From the point of view of the workers therefore, it is essential that they should not only maintain their standards but that they should take steps to insure themselves against starvation while standing at attention. Unemployment insurance is a first step, not only toward providing the means of security in times of enforced idleness, but also in bringing pressure to bear on the industry to establish a more intelligent and less speculative balance between production and anticipated demand.

The first step only—upon that President Hillman was emphatic. The unemployment insurance scheme inaugurated by agreement between the men's clothing manufacturers in Chicago and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in May, 1923, was not conceived as a panacea, for a tough and age old evil. It was not even assumed that it was necessarily the best scheme for its particular limited purpose. It was merely the best that the union and the manufacturers—the union especially since it took the initiative—were able, with the help of the best counsel and the completest information available, to devise for experimental tryout. About this no one had any illusions. The significance of the agreement to establish a fund was not in the technical peculiarities of the scheme itself, but in the fact that all parties had at last agreed that unemployment was not part and parcel of the evolutionary operation of blind natural selection, but an ordinary problem of business organization, statistical appraisal and administrative control—not in the actuarial devices of the scheme of assessment and benefit payment, but in the deliberately scientific approach to a problem which bears much the same relation to the vitality of industry that tuberculosis has traditionally born to the health of the general community—in this and the almost equally notable fact that the experiment was undertaken upon the initiative of the workers.

For it was the workers who retained a research economist to analyze the record of all previous unemployment insurance plans and to bring the knowledge of past experience, to bear, not upon the men's clothing industry in general but upon the special conditions under which the industry operates in the limited Chicago area. In Boston in May 1920, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in biennial convention adopted a resolution enunciating the principle that unemployment was a proper charge on the industry and that employers should figure this charge in their regular operating accounts. Following the convention, the union entered a demand for the establishment of unemployment insurance funds in all the markets operating under collective agreements.

The employers did not at first welcome the suggestion, holding it to be outside the scope of collective bargaining. But the union contended that the subject was an integral phase of the wage question and so central to collective bargaining. At the time the union's contention did not prevail although in Chicago the Board of Arbitration, under the chairmanship of Professor James H. Tufts, took cognizance of the matter to the extent of ordering the appointment of a joint committee to study unemployment in the men's clothing industry and report its findings and recommendations to the board.

This committee was never organized. But the union did not allow the subject to lapse. When on May 1, 1922 the old agreement between the union and the Chicago manufacturers expired and a new three-year agreement was in order, the union was ready with a proposal, supported by an analytical brief which had been prepared by its consulting economist and the director of its research department, Leo Wolman. As a result of this energetic preparedness the new agreement contained a clause, said to be the first of its kind, which recognized the right of the union annually to raise with the employers the question of an unemployment fund as coordinate with other questions of wages, hours and working conditions. Unemployment insurance thus became an accepted subject for collective bargaining.

In the spring of 1923, when the annual negotiations for the adjustment of wage rates began, the union brought this new clause into operation. The employers no longer resisted in principle, but they were not prepared to agree upon specific terms for its application. The controversy was submitted to a special board of arbitration, composed of William M. Leiserson, John R. Commons and David Friday. With their sanction the employers and the union formulated the preliminary agreement under which the employers were to deduct 1.5 per cent of the weekly earnings of each worker, match this with an equal amount of their own and deposit the whole with boards of trustees composed of equal numbers of representatives of the two parties, with an impartial outsider as chairman. The preliminary agreement provided that benefits should be paid to unemployed members of the union at the rate of 40 per cent of full time earnings, but not to exceed $20 a week for more than five weeks in any one year. In September the preliminary agreement took a definite legal form. Its experimental character is revealed by the fact that instead of providing for a single fund covering the entire market, it set up indi-

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vidual house funds, each with its legally distinct board of trustees. For convenience in administration, however, the same board, so far as personnel is concerned, has been designated to administer all the individual house funds except two. While John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin is chairman of all the boards and the union representation on all of them is the same, the firms of Hart Schaffner and Marx, and B. Kuppenheimer and Company have their special representatives on the boards entrusted with the administration of their house funds. These trustees meet at frequent intervals to check audits and pass upon the investment and administration of the funds.

As already noted, the scheme was launched in the midst of one of the most protracted depressions the men's clothing industry has ever known. Had the benefit allowances not been carefully kept within the conservatively estimated income of the funds, this first venture in collective unemployment insurance might by now have gone on the rocks. As a matter of fact, a few of the smaller house funds have had to suspend payment, and as might have been foreseen, there have been months in the year when disbursements have very considerably exceeded income and recourse had to be taken to the reserve accumulated during the first year when no benefits were paid. The distribution of benefits did not begin until May 1, 1924 after the funds had accumulated an aggregate of more than one million dollars. At the end of February 1925, assessments to the amount of $1,831,850.73 had been paid in, interest on investments and deposits had amounted to $31,773.60, benefits to the amount of $1,017,804.63 had been paid out to 25,000 of the 35,000 union members in Chicago, and the expense of setting up and administering the funds, including salaries, office rent and equipment, had amounted to $112,660.16, leaving an over-all balance of $733,159.54. After a severe first test the enterprise is solvent and functioning, although it has become apparent that the administrative rules will have to be modified in a number of important respects in order to strengthen their actuarial soundness.

UNEMPLOYMENT insurance, like fire insurance, is only initially concerned with the alleviation of the suffering that attends disaster; its main long-term objective is the elimination of the evil itself. One of its principal purposes is to penalize the inefficient executive and to give manufacturers an incentive to stabilize production. Thus the Chicago agreement provides that whenever there shall have accumulated in any house fund an amount equal to the total maximum unemployment benefits which would be payable during a period of two years to all of the then contributing employes of a manufacturer, further contributions by this manufacturer and his employes shall be suspended until the fund falls to an amount less than the total maximum benefits which might be payable during a single year. While this abatement is of some consequence, it is obvious that in a market which produces more than $100,000,000 worth of clothing annually, a total possible penalty of little more than $1,000,000 constitutes an inadequate incentive to introduce all those technical reforms in manufacture and sales distribution which thoroughgoing stabilization would require. This is true notwithstanding the fact that many employers feel that the scheme has created a differential against them in their competition with employers in other markets where unemployment insurance funds have not yet been established. Neither does a maximum of $100 in benefits constitute an adequate compensation for the loss of the months of wages which the majority of workers in the clothing industry regularly suffer, even though it helps to pay the coal bill and keep the children in stockings. If this particular unemployment scheme had been launched as a solution of the problem of unemployment, it would be nothing to brag about. In 1921 the average annual earnings of the workers in the Chicago industry were $1,612; in 1923 a board of arbitration granted an increase of approximately 10 per cent. A further wage increase of 6 per cent would in a fairly good year yield a large majority of the workers a greater return than the maximum benefit allowed from the insurance fund. Moreover all the workers would benefit by a wage increase, whereas under any unemployment insurance scheme the thousands who are fortunate enough to have steady employment, like fire insurance policy holders who escape conflagration, get nothing but a moderate sense of security for their contribution. They drop their money in a lottery where they hope it will stay lost to them forever. Again, as with other forms of insurance, it is the by-products of the scheme even more than its immediate financial benefits that count most in the long run.

From the beginning the union's executives and their economic adviser have regarded unemployment insurance as but one element in a rounded program for developing a scientific basis of approach to the whole problem of labor's relation to the productive process. No American trade union has been more insistent than the Amalgamated that the workers have an equal stake with the investors in the efficient conduct of the industry. They have therefore steadily pressed for the application of a scientific procedure in their collective negotiations, and have tried to set an example by the application of scientific method within the field of their recognized jurisdiction. In an article in the Forum for March, J. B. S. Haldane points out that

> every science begins with the observation of striking events, like thunderstorms and fevers, and soon establishes rough connections between them and other events, such as hot weather and infection. The next state is a stage of exact observation and measurement. . . . In the case of both thunderstorms and fever, the clue came from measuring the lengths of mercury columns in glass tubes, but what prophet could have predicted this? Then comes a state of innumerable graphs and tables of figures, the despair of the student, the laughing stock of the man in the street. And out of this intellectual mess there suddenly crystallizes a new and easily grasped idea, the idea of a cyclone or an electron, a bacillus or an antitoxin, and everybody wonders why it had not been thought of before.

For decades labor conditions in the needle trades were in a notorious state of mess which hardly deserved classification as intellectual. In the New York men's clothing industry, due to intense speculative competition among the manufacturers and equally to the hell-bent-for-heaven tactics of the considerable "radical" minority, this primal chaotic mess still persists. In Chicago, however—and to only a less degree in Rochester—due in large measure to the actively sympathetic attitude of a number of manufacturers toward the democratic aspirations of labor, the mess has reached the intellectual stage of Haldane's gradation, and the Chicago unemployment insurance scheme is directly responsible for the development of the precise scientific data out of which alone significant graphs and charts can be made.

It is part of ordinary trade union practice to run a more

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or less efficient employment office. Employers operating under collective agreements with unions are expected to apply to union headquarters for workers before going into the open market. But such a system as ordinarily conducted yields only the crudest information as to normal demand not only for workers in general but for specifically qualified workers. It does not reveal what may properly be called the normal requirements of the industry, plant by plant, department by department, operation by operation. An adequate system of registration and record converts labor statistics into an accurate index not only to the normal demand for labor but also to the normal market demand for the product of the industry; and knowledge of this demand constitutes the essential rock bottom of any program of industrial stabilization. It is obvious that any system of unemployment insurance that is to pay adequate benefits and yet remain solvent must ultimately be based upon reasonably accurate knowledge of the number of permanent workers required by the industry and of the amount of employment they may expect in a year. How far the needle trades still are from productive stability is indicated by the fact that the unemployment insurance scheme recently set up by the manufacturers of womens' garments and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York writes off eighteen weeks in each year—nine weeks each season—as weeks of "normal" unemployment for which no out-of-work benefits are to be paid. The financial waste incident to such a situation in an industry equipped to produce hundreds of millions of dollars worth of goods annually is manifest; the human waste and suffering are incalculable. Conditions in the men's clothing industry are in much the same state. The fundamental incentive behind the workers' demand for unemployment insurance is not the desire for out-of-work doles which as a matter of sound actuarial practice can never equal lost wages, but the desire to contract the labor force to the limits of known demand for the product of the industry and to bring increasing pressure upon the manufacturers to organize their production programs with reference to predetermined demand.

Largely as a result of unemployment insurance, the Employment Exchange operated by the Amalgamated in Chicago accumulated an extremely comprehensive and detailed body of data with respect to the labor force in the Chicago market, which before the union was fully recognized was hardly better understood than the star clusters that spread along the Milky Way. (The Survey for September 15, 1923 described the operation of this exchange.) But even this did not prove sufficient. The workers had been so inured to seasonal unemployment that they regarded it with fatalistic resignation as inevitable. When a dull season began they tended to consider registration at the employment exchange a futile manoeuver so that it frequently happened that the exchange had an unsatisfied demand on particular operations while unemployed qualified workers were drifting at large. It was at this point that the unemployment insurance scheme became effective. All union workers are under compulsion to contribute to their house funds; but they cannot receive benefits unless they are registered and unless the record shows how long they have been without work through no fault of their own. The employment exchange and unemployment insurance offices are operating in close conjunction, the one exclusively under an employe of the union, the other by a two-man administrative committee, one from the union, the other representing the manufacturers. All the firms must send to the central record office weekly reports on the employment they have given their workers. Increasingly as confidence in the administration grows, firms send in their actual payrolls which yield complete information of the weekly hours, wages and contribution of every union member in the market, which is approximately 90 per cent organized. This confidence has been so thoroughly established that one may see even non-union workers at the registration desk of the union's employment exchange—and see them receiving the same prompt and courteous consideration given to union members. This result is due to the wisdom of the union in securing as its representative in the insurance administration and as director of the employment exchange, Bryce M. Stewart, formerly in general charge of the public employment bureaus of Canada.

WITHIN the field of its recognized jurisdiction the Amalgamated in Chicago is applying a method of scientific research, induction and control on a grand scale. Unfortunately the manufacturers as a group are by virtue of the keenly competitive nature of the business not in a position to apply the same method within the field of their special jurisdiction to anything like the same extent. As a group their knowledge of the market demand for their product does not even approximately equal in accuracy the union's knowledge of the labor market. In the case of the union the interest of each member is in a peculiar degree bound up with the interests of all members; in the case of the employers this is not and cannot under competitive conditions be so. Their isolationist trend is indicated by their objection to a single market unemployment insurance fund and their insistence upon the bookkeeping segregation of their individual house funds. A number of large firms, especially those that spend heavily for national advertising, do keep an elaborate check on the sales of their retailers and make every effort to gage the probable demand for their product. But naturally this information is not pooled. In the case of each house it is treasured as a valuable trade secret. The problem which inevitably arises out of the seasonal habits of buyers of clothing is infinitely complicated by the natural desire of each manufacturer to outsell his competitors. One or two manufacturers have attempted to run their business on the theory that by taking adequate forethought they could follow a policy of manufacturing what they sell instead of attempting to sell all the clothing they can manufacture; but the theory has hard sledding in the competitive hurly-burly of the trade. How this difficulty will be overcome in an industry where a few hundred dollars is enough to enable a man to open and equip a shop is a question that still lies in the foggy future.

Until it is solved nothing the union can do will suffice to eliminate unemployment or to stabilize production. It is clear, however, that progress toward its solution depends upon the application of the same experimentally scientific procedure that led the union to organize its employment exchange and to insist upon the establishment of an unemployment insurance system. The best promise of progress in this direction lies in the fact that what the union has accomplished in Chicago would have been impossible without the enlightened encouragement and cooperation of the leading manufacturers in that market.

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Procession

To Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love,
All pray in their distress,
And to these virtues of delight
Return their thankfulness.

For Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love,
Is God our Father dear;
And Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love,
Is man, His child and care.

William Blake

"To Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love---"

PAINTINGS BY ANTO CARTE

ANTO CARTE is descended from a family of woodcarvers of Mons, in the province of Hainhaut, Belgium, and from these craftsmen may have come something of the quaint simplicity of design that distinguishes the pictures exhibited this winter at the Carnegie Institute International Exhibition, Pittsburgh. The poignant sorrow and wistful tenderness in the workworn people of these pictures could come only from the artist's own genius.

At the age of sixteen he left school and became apprenticed to a decorator. During days when work was scarce and in the evenings, he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts of Mons under Emil Motte. At eighteen he secured a scholarship which took him to Brussels for three years; and another scholarship gave him two years more of study at Paris. Always he worked: making posters; decorating menus; designing furniture, stained glass, carpets, ceramics and wall paper.

In 1913, the artist had settled again in Mons when, the following year, the Great War came. In the advance of the Germans he was arrested and sent to prison at Namur. Almost immediately he was released but was kept under surveillance until the Armistice. During this period he made illustrations for the poems of Emile Verhaeren and found in him a philosophy of life similiar to his own broad human sympathy. After the Armistice he exhibited at Brussels two paintings, Pietà and Mater Dolorosa, which gave him a distinguished place among Belgian artists. In the United States the work of Anto Carte was first known in the Twenty-first International Exhibition. This year in the Twenty-fourth International he was awarded Honorable Mention.

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MADONNA WITH
THE SEA GULLS

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PIETÀ

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BLIND

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THE RETURN OF
THE PRODIGAL SON

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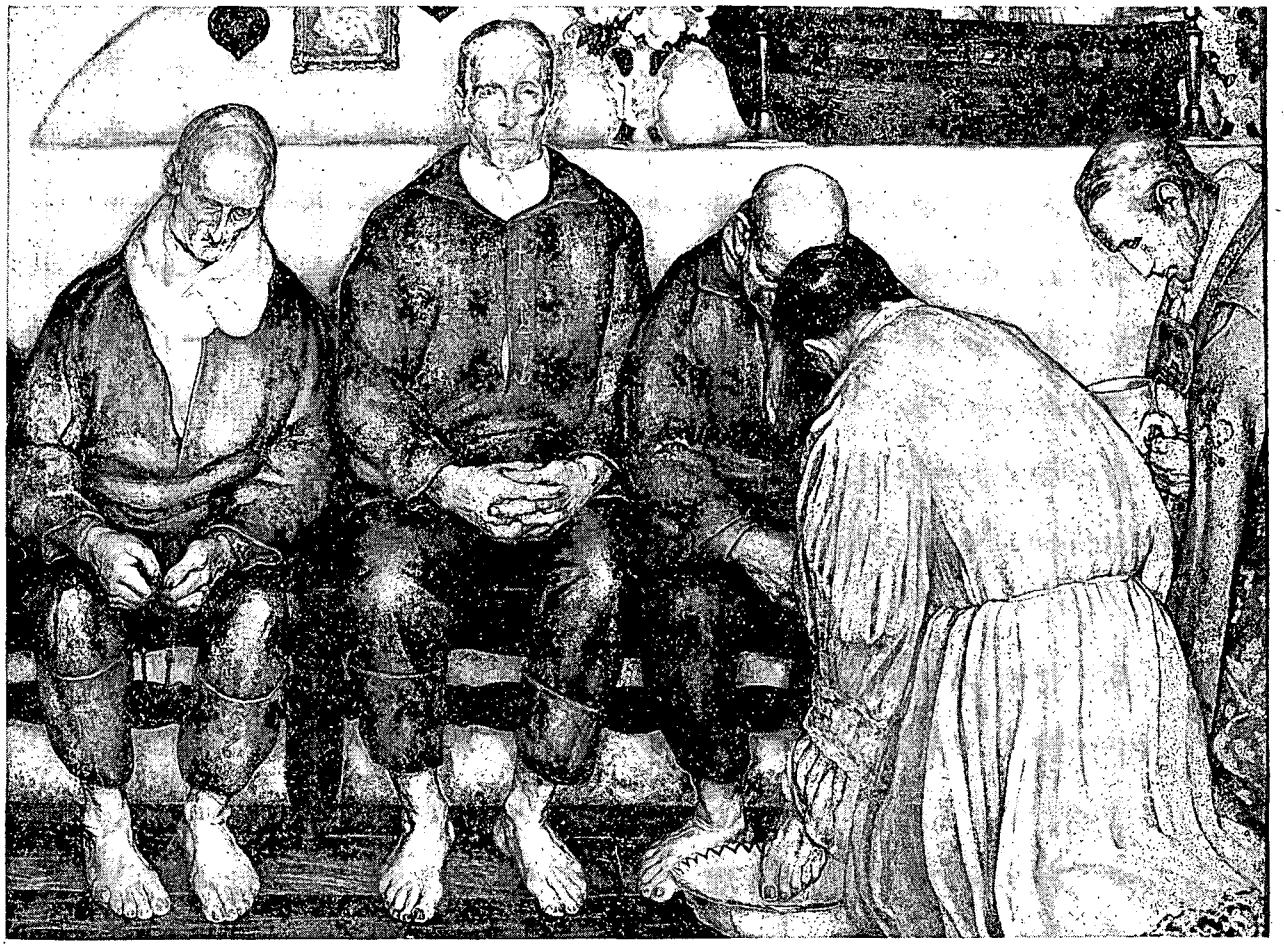

HOLY THURSDAY

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If This Be Heresy—*by Harry Emerson Fosdick*

From a Farewell Sermon at the First Presbyterian Church, New York

SIX years ago, in this church, we entered on an adventurous experiment. Those were the spacious days after the war when our hearts went out to each other across all creedal boundary lines. A great cause united us. Little things had seemed little in the midst of the world's tragic crisis. Those were days when, not having enough coal to go around, Presbyterian and Baptist churches actually condescended to worship God together. Those were days when we told each other with tears in our eyes of Catholic chaplains giving the last rites to Jewish soldiers, and Protestant clergymen holding the crucifix before the closing eyes of Catholic boys. In those spacious days we entered into our experiment—an interdenominational ministry to build a community church that should be in fact "a house of prayer for all the people."

Now that that experiment comes to its conclusion, not because it has failed, but because ecclesiastical decree engineered from a distance so dictates, we may well spend a moment rehearsing what we have stood for.

We have stood for *tolerance*. This church is not of one theological complexion. We represent many doctrinal traditions, and about as many answers as you can easily imagine to any theological question you will find somewhere in the minds of this congregation. But never in all these six years has there been a rift in the lute of our harmony.

Again, we have stood for *an inclusive church*. The tragedy of Protestantism has been this, that any time anybody got a new idea in doctrine or ecclesiastical polity, he went out, if he had power enough, and founded a new denomination to represent it. The tragedy of Protestantism has been an exclusive church to which nobody belonged except those people who had the same belief about some doctrine or ecclesiastical procedure. The lamentable effect of this historical policy of Protestantism, with each denomination representing some specialty, is with us; a hundred and more denominations in this country, competing, overlapping, each insisting on some minutia, tithing mint, anise and cummin and neglecting the weightier matters of the law. And so far has this historic policy gone that one denomination of Mennonites is distinguished from all others by the fact that it thinks wearing buttons wrong and wears hooks and eyes instead.

Against this policy of Protestantism we have taken our stand. We have built an inclusive church. We represent today the major communions of Christendom. If they had let us go on we would have been more inclusive yet. Why not? Here in New York you will find around a single block, under many roofs, diverse denominations worshipping the same God. They have the same Lord. They share a common purpose. Why cannot they do under one roof what they do under many?

And this other thing we have stood for: *the right of people to think the abiding verities of Christianity through in modern terms.* We have looked with sympathy and solicitude upon this younger generation. They are going out into a new day with new ways of thinking. There is no use in trying to turn back the clock. Ideas like scientific law and evolution are here to stay. Disciplines of modern study, like archaeology, history, comparative religion, literary criticism, are here to stay. You would not send your children to school where those are not known and familiarly taken for granted, and the day is past when you can ask thoughtful men to hold religion in one compartment of their minds and their modern world view in another.

We have tried here to help young people to think through their religion in terms that will not do violence to their knowledge. We have lifted up here the command of Jesus as though it were a sacred thing: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind." And rich has been our reward in scores of youths who have come back from wandering uncertainty to say what one wrote us this last week: "You brought me back to Christ."

Moreover, we have stood here for *the social application of the principles of Jesus.* Christianity has not been to us a narrowly individual affair, a turnstile through which one by one we escaped from a naughty world into a heavenly security. We believe in service. We have tried to practice it. We have believed that the principles of Jesus ought to be applied to the social order. And since the tragedy of the great war that conviction ever more deeply has been burned into our hearts.

I thank you for the liberty you have given me in this realm. I do not believe that our present economic system, as it is run and ordered, is Christian, and I have said so. I do not believe that our international life is Christian, and I have said so. I abhor the cruelties of our modern industrialism. I hate war and I never expect to bless another one. For these things I have stood in this pulpit as a Christian minister and no one of you ever tried to lay a finger on my lips.

Here, too, we have stood for *the abiding verities and experiences of the Gospel.* Show me any young people whose faith has been upset in this church. Folk at a distance may say that we have betrayed the Lord, but those of you who have walked with us in this sanctuary know with what reverence we have adored him, with what eagerness we have sought to know his will, with what earnestness we have commended him to this younger generation. We have proclaimed the reality of the living God and the Saviorhood of Christ and the available energies of the Spirit.

I am not sorry we tried this experiment. It was worth trying. We have lifted a standard that no one will put down. We have stated an issue that no man or denomination is strong enough to brush aside. The future belongs to these things we have been standing for. Some day the whole Church will swing round to them, take them for granted, wonder why they ever seemed new or strange, and what is the heresy of one generation will become the orthodoxy of the next. We say farewell to each other, but let no man say farewell to the things we have been standing for!

They call me a heretic. I am proud of it. I wouldn't live in a generation like this and be anything but a heretic. . . . It is a great time to be alive. The world is breaking up. In all our social relationships and institutions, winter is past; spring has come; the thaw is on. We are going out into a new generation, plastic, pliable, fluid. What takes possession of it, what directs its course, what spirit informs it, will determine human destiny for generations.

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Bridge-Building

I—A Visiting Teacher's Day

By MABEL BROWN ELLIS

SIT for a morning beside a certain desk in a Rochester public school, where sixteen different racial groups are being fused into one people. Life moves briskly here. It touches every height of comedy and despair. There are times when in the little office of the visiting teacher a Russian-Jewish child fairly overflowing with emotions and gestures confronts a classroom teacher of straight New England stock, spare, tight-lipped, conscientious, well-meaning, but honestly bewildered and appalled by the torrents which have suddenly burst out beneath her feet. Then it is for the visiting teacher, with her sympathetic understanding of both, to build the bridge which will bring the two together again to inhabit the same classroom in peace if not in love.

But the morning is Monday. And Monday is rarely a day for bridge-building—that comes later in the week. The nerves, which will then be a bit raw from hours of enforced contact in the classroom, are now sheathed in the wrappings of week-end rest. It is almost nine o'clock. A clerk from the principal's office has already brought in eight requests for visits to families. Out in the ante-room, which serves both the office of the visiting teacher and that of the school nurse, benches along the wall are already packed with children. In the corridor beside the door is heard the tramp of many feet as lines are forming and marching to the classrooms. Never a line passes that open door without some small person in pigtails or bobbed curls pausing a moment to wave a hand or call out very quietly "Good morning," and the little boys grin cheerfully as they pass by. It is a rather nice place to be, this visiting teacher office at nine o'clock on a Monday morning.

But troubles are approaching. A much worried young woman enters and the door is closed. All over her serious face is written the fact that she is just out of normal school and anxious to make a good record during her first year. And here is Maria,* aged nine, mostly brown eyes flashing up at you from a tangle of black curls—Maria who persistently spoils her room's record for perfect punctuality, which seems to Miss Smithson just now one of the most-to-be-desired things on earth.

"Good morning, Miss Strong! *Please* tell me what to do with Maria," she implores. "She comes late every day, ten or fifteen minutes. I have sent note after note to her mother. I have talked to Maria and kept her after school to make up the time. But nothing does any good."

"How long have you lived in America, Maria?" asks the visiting teacher quietly.

"Six month," says Maria.

"Does your mother speak English?" A shake of the curly head.

"Does she work in the factory?" A nod.

"When does she get home at night?" "Six o'clock."

"And where do you live?" An address is given and written down.

"I'll go to see the mother tonight, Miss Smithson," says the visiting teacher, "and we'll see what can be done. Wouldn't you like to go along and meet Maria's mother for yourself? You haven't had a chance to get really acquainted in this neighborhood yet."

"What will you do about it?" asks the visitor, as teacher and child leave the office.

"That depends on what I find," says the visiting teacher. "I'm only guessing now at the cause of Maria's tardiness and we never make a plan until we know the facts. Perhaps her father is really earning enough so that her mother can afford to stay at home and take care of the children herself. Perhaps there is a grandmother or an aunt who can start Maria off in time. Or one of the neighbor's children might call for her. And then if her mother works away from home all day there is much more to think about than simply getting Maria off to school on time in the morning. What does she get to eat at noon? Where does she spend her time after school? What happens to her brothers and sisters? Tardiness may be simply careless-

*All names used in this and succeeding sections are fictitious and facts regarding the family have been changed sufficiently to render identification impossible.

MUCH of the fact and philosophy as well as the human interest of the visiting teacher movement is reflected in two volumes about to be published by the Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency. The first of these, The Problem Child in School, presents a score of stories selected from the records of the visiting teachers in the thirty communities where the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, as a Division of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency, is carrying on demonstrations of the work. This book will include, in addition to the narratives written by Mary B. Sayles, author of Three Problem Children, a description of the purpose and scope of this new type of service in the public school by Howard W. Nudd of the Public Education Association of New York city, who serves also as chairman of the National Committee on Visiting Teachers. The other volume, written by Mabel Brown Ellis, to be published soon afterward, will deal with work not connected with the program, but will describe the methods used in Rochester, N. Y., where the Board of Education has for a number of years maintained a special department of visiting teachers. The extracts here published have been taken from these two books which set forth in spirited and scholarly fashion a new endeavor on the part of the public schools of America to deal with the emotional as well as the intellectual need of their pupils.

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ness and easily adjusted once the parents understand, or it may be the first symptom of something really seriously wrong in the home. Perhaps this is a situation which Miss Smithson herself can easily handle after she has met the mother. She is just out of Normal and not very sure of herself yet, but after a while she will be handling tardiness by herself without coming to me about any but the most serious cases."

We were interrupted by a shy little girl who sidled into the room to say, "Everything is all right, Miss Strong," and sidled out again.

"She reports every Monday," said Miss Strong. "She used to steal constantly from the other children—pencils and pennies mostly—but now we have persuaded her mother to give her a few cents' allowance a week and Martha hasn't stolen since. But she still comes in to tell me that everything is going well."

Four or five small boys rushed in together. They were under orders to show themselves daily to the visiting teacher until she felt sure their habit of "hooking it" was under control. The names were checked off in a book and in the record of Francis, who had been neither absent nor tardy for a week, was placed a big gold star.

Amato appeared to ask for "milk for my baby" and to display shoes hanging in tatters and a very ragged blouse.

"Is your father worse again, Amato?" asked the visiting teacher, as she made a note to call up a family welfare agency.

"Yes, Miss Strong," and the boy's eyes filled with tears. "The nurse say he never get well."

"Tell your mother I'll be in to see her tomorrow." And in an aside, "Such a nice family and the father has tried so hard. It's tuberculosis and I am afraid there is no hope." Then to Amato gently, "Cheer up, Amato! Remember you have to be the man of the family now and help your mother all you can."

MRS. STEIN, round and rosy, with a shawl over her shiny black hair and a gingham apron about her ample waist, bounced into the room. "I want you should come today—now—Missis," she said, "to see the mother of that Tillie Lewisohn. All the time Mrs. Lewisohn she come crying by my house and I say she should come here to see you, but she say 'No, you go!'"

"What's the matter with Tillie?" asked Miss Strong.

"Tillie, she getting too fresh. She one fresh kid. She run around all the time with boys and she stand in the hall with them at night and the neighbors talk about her. Honest, it's awful the way them kids do. I go myself one night to send them home. Late it was, eleven o'clock, and them scuffling in the hall outside my door, and I say, 'You go home, you kids!' and one of the boys said, 'Aw, you shut up!' And I say, 'You ought to be ashamed to talk that way, a little boy like you!' And he say, 'I ain't a little boy.' And I say, 'Well, you got on short pants.' And he say, 'I've got long pants at home.'"

Here Mrs. Stein paused for breath and Miss Strong, who had been vainly trying to stem the flood of her eloquence, thought her chance had come. But quite ignoring her, Mrs. Stein swept on: "Honest, it's awful the way kids do here. Believe me, it ain't so in the old country. Tillie's mother say, 'I wish I never seen America—here I lose my daughter.' She cry and cry and Tillie just laugh and say she don't care, in America it's different. And I tell her not all Americans is like them tough kids that she goes with, but she laugh at me too. So I say, 'All right, I go see the Missis at the school. *She* tell you where you get off.'"

Miss Strong put her hand on the arm of the excited woman. "Mrs. Stein, we will do all we can to help Tillie and her mother. Thank you for telling me about it. I think I know where they live—just across from you, isn't it? Tell Mrs. Lewisohn I'll come to see her today and then I'll drop in at your house too and get the names of the other boys and girls who are acting so foolishly and let you tell me anything else you want to. But now the children are waiting for me so I'll have to say good-bye to you for this time."

A knock at the door.

"Miss Strong, have my work papers come yet?"

"Not yet, Katya. I'll let you know when they do. Have you seen your father lately?"

"No, Miss Strong. You know I don't care much about seeing him." The tall girl in the neat blue dress stiffened as she spoke.

"Yes, Katya, I know," said Miss Strong, "but after all, he is the only father you have. He worked hard to bring you and your sister to America and I remember how happy he was when you came and he brought you in to see me."

"But why doesn't he help my mother, then?" the girl burst out passionately. "Me and my sister" (it was her first slip in English) "me and my sister we work hard. You know we work and we save every cent to bring my mother and my other sister, and he, what does he do? Nothing! Leaves my mother to starve, that's what he does, the dirty bum!"

Miss Strong's voice was stern. "Katya, you must not speak that way of your father. He has sent your mother money, I know, because he showed me the receipts. Not very much, that is true. But you know the shops were closed all last winter and they haven't been running full time this fall. Your father has to pay board since you and Stacia won't keep house for him."

"But he wasn't good to us."

"He did not always understand, that's true, but I don't believe he meant to be unkind, and I am still hoping that when your mother comes you can all have a home together again. Homes are good things to have, Katya, don't forget that."

Katya's haughty young head, so splendidly set upon her strong peasant shoulders, tossed a little resentfully as she went out but she looked thoughtful.

"I found Katya working in an ice cream parlor a year ago," said Miss Strong, "without a work permit, of course. She was too young to get one. She loathed coming back to school. But she was so bright! She had been over from Poland only a few months then—and her English!—well, you heard her today. She rarely slips. A handsome girl, isn't she? And how she did hate me for a while! But now she is my good friend and she is working hard in her classes."

"How did you do it?"

"Well, there were a good many things to be done for Katya. In the first place, she really did need clothes and money. The father had been out of work and could do little for her and her older sister earns only $10 a week. I found some well-to-do relatives right here in Rochester who helped clothe Katya and took both the girls to live with them for a while. Then I talked with Katya as one woman to another about the whole question of school. I made it quite clear

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that she would *have* to come. There was no way of getting out of it. And then I said to her, 'Now there are two ways you can take this: you can make up your mind that you will get all you can out of this experience or you can simply sit in your seat and do nothing. You will enjoy yourself much more if you do the first, and you will be awfully bored if you do the second. But nobody can make you do either. You will have to decide for yourself. Now go home and think in over.' Well, she has sense, Katya, and it appealed to her, this being put on her own, so to speak. She finished two grades last year. I haven't been able to do much yet to bring father and daughters together but I haven't stopped trying."

Arthur, a bullet-headed little chap with two front teeth missing, laid a report card on the desk. "That's fine, Arthur!" said Miss Strong. "Congratulations! I knew you could do it." And she solemnly shook hands with him.

Arthur had been an attendance problem. He just wouldn't come to school. But his marks stayed mysteriously high. "Why should I come?" he asked loftily. "I know all that." Transferred to a higher grade where he didn't know it all, he promptly ceased to be a problem.

MOLLA fairly flew into the room, her blue eyes shining and every separate curl vibrating with excitement. "My teacher said I should ask you to please excuse me for being late this morning. My mother got a baby."

"Why, Molla, how splendid! Is it a little brother or a little sister? When did it come?"

"It just came—just now. My mother she hollered something awful and I had to take the children over to my aunt's. The lady next door came and she telephoned for the doctor but he didn't get there until after the baby came."

"But who helped the lady with your mother?"

"I did," said Molla. "Oh, Miss Strong, it's so sweet! I washed it and dressed it, and it's a little sister, just what I wanted. And then I came to school," she added in the most matter-of-fact way. "But it made me late."

"Well," said Miss Strong, smiling, "I think we'll not only excuse you for being late this morning but send you home to spend the rest of the day with your mother and that new baby. Perhaps tomorrow your aunt can come to help the lady next door. Give your mother my love and hurry home."

"It might well have been Molla instead of her mother who had the baby, if it hadn't been for us," said Miss Strong smiling reminiscently, as Molla ran off.

"That little girl? Why she is just a child!"

"Yes, but over a year ago Molla left school intending to get married. The man was thirty and Molla had barely seen him. Her father picked him out and made all the arrangements. The children told us about it and we reported it to the juvenile court. The judge forbade the marriage and Molla came back to school. She didn't object, but her father did. It took a good bit of argument to convince him that a girl of fourteen was too young for matrimony. Fortunately the prospective bridegroom soon turned out to be a worthless sort of fellow, so Mr. Korcynko has now forgiven the school for breaking off the match. Molla loves babies and is wonderful with them. Some day I hope she will marry a fine young Hungarian like herself and have a baker's dozen of her own! But not quite yet!"

It is almost ten o'clock and Miss Strong is anxious to get out into "her district." Besides looking up the children just reported by classroom teachers, she has other calls to make. She must jot down brief notes on interviews of the morning and drop in at the principal's office for several telephone calls. A multitude of other things which ought to be done await her. Out of them all she must select the most important for immediate attention, but each must sooner or later command her unhurried thought to work out a solution, to bring a boy or girl into a happy and harmonious relationship with his home and neighborhood, his playmates, school and teacher.

II—Social Work Enters the School

By HOWARD W. NUDD

DURING the last three decades alone, the public school system has grown impressively, both in numbers and in attitude toward its problem. It has reached a larger number of children for a longer period of time, and its courses of study and machinery of supervision and instruction have greatly expanded. With ever increasing clearness it is being realized that in a democracy not some children but all children must be prepared for wholesome and creative citizenship. Hence our compulsory education and child labor laws, which were practically non-existent in the early nineties. Along with this growth in numbers, the vast differences in abilities and interests among children have gradually become recognized as never before.

Thirty or more years ago, before compulsory education laws became general, schools were schools, with curricula and methods of a predetermined pattern. Children could take them or leave them as they chose. Those whose aptitudes and interests happened to be appealed to stayed on and were "educated." The rest dropped out, to succeed or fail in the race of life by their own unaided efforts. Whether they became assets or liabilities to society was largely a matter of chance. The school, at any rate, made little concerted effort to understand them or to meet their needs. Such schools naturally cost less and were far more simple in organization than the schools of today, and, in the opinion of some, produced far more impressive graduation exercises.

Then came a fundamental change. Year by year the laws required the schools to provide for a larger group of children of a wider age distribution, and, as was natural, of a greater variety of abilities and interests. At first they tried the impossible experiment of forcing all of these children through the same process from which they had formerly been eliminated as incompetents. The "good children," who fitted the traditional plan, succeeded as

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before. They sat in the front seats, received gold stars, and monopolized honors on the perennial graduation day. A vast number, however—the non-conformists who had formerly been unceremoniously ejected from the company of the elect—fell behind, failing from year to year to meet the old requirements from which they had previously fled.

Gradually the presence of these failures became acutely felt, particularly in the lower grades where they piled up in alarming numbers. The statistical era then descended upon the schools, and after much calculation these children emerged as the "retardation problem." Everywhere tables appeared showing the number of children of various ages in each grade, and indicating by heavy dividing lines, like Jacob's ladder reaching from earth to paradise, the number of children who were "underage," "overage," or of "normal age" for their grade. Immediately a panic struck the educational world and, as one community after another began to compare its "age-grade distribution" with others, a stampede took place. For a time more thought was given to the ebb and flow of mass showings than to the measures which might be taken to further the welfare of the individual children who were plainly out of adjustment with the school. The school was still the mold and the children were to be bent or manoeuvered to fit it.

Nevertheless, this appreciation in statistical form of the vast differences in children, as revealed by the widely varying rate of their progress through school, soon stimulated inquiry into causes and led to a stirring series of events which is still in progress. Efforts, at first cautious in nature but with ever-increasing skill and momentum, were made to measure children's intellectual and physical ability and their rate of achievement in school subjects. At first, as in the inception of the movement to calculate retardation, the emphasis was placed upon mass showing, rather than upon the use of the tests to determine what might profitably be done for each individual child. More recently, however, there has been a decided tendency to use this valuable technique for the benefit of the individual child. Where this viewpoint prevails, the card index is no longer worshiped primarily as a convenient instrument for tabulating impressive data in which the individual is but an interesting item of information, however valuable such a statistical summary may be. It is looked upon rather as a loose-leaf reference book of vital facts regarding Mary, John and Peter, which must be utilized continually in adapting the work of the school to meet their specific needs.

FACED with the problem of educating all children, the school is thus gradually unbending to meet the child, and while it is still far from reaching its goal, it is steadily moving forward. In the groping effort to meet newly revealed problems, all the children have frequently been given a taste of everything, in the hope that they might find something, somewhere, to their liking which they might retain. But after prolonged use of the trial-and-error method, and with the newer insight into child nature and the evolution of better ways to appraise abilities and interests, the school is coming to realize that such patch work will no longer do, that the tasting method must give way to a more fundamental reorganization.

In many places there is an enlightened effort to formulate differentiated courses of study, flexible programs of grading and promotion, and methods of instruction which find their inspiration in the manifold needs of individual children. Tests and measurements are coming to be regarded, not as convenient instruments for eliminating this child or that from the benefits of further instruction, but rather as instruments to illuminate their capacities, however limited, and to light the way to a more comprehensive and intelligent system of education which will give to every child "an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

In view of the traditional conception of the school as a fact-and-skill-imparting agency, it does not seem strange that this development of educational technique has been largely in the field of intellectual and manual accomplishment and in the improvement of physical well-being. While the emotional life of the child, which gives rise to the attitudes toward experiences which determine behavior, has long been recognized as an important factor in education, it has remained more in the realm of theory than of practice. The school has with increasing efficiency imparted the "tools" and the "intellectual inheritance" of civilization, but has failed to understand and to develop in equal measure those emotional or spiritual traits in the individual child which determine so largely whether he will make or mar the life he might fashion with these instruments of skill and insight.

Intelligence, knowledge, and skill are, of course, invaluable assets whose worth cannot be minimized in the educative process, but in the end, it is the way they are used and the purpose they are made to serve which determine the character of the individual and of society. It is becoming increasingly recognized that the emotional reactions of the child to his experience in school and in the world outside its walls play a vital part in the school's main purpose to train children for right living and wholesome citizenship.

It would mark a distinct step forward if the school would undertake to handle the problems of behavior, from the beginning of school life, with the same energy which has characterized its efforts to understand and develop the intellectual and physical capacities of children. With the help of the psychologist and the physician it has sought to provide special classes for physical and mental defectives and to grade its former "normal" children according to their varied degrees of intellectual ability. With the help of the psychiatrist, it should seek to appraise their emotional nature and to care especially for the so-called neurotic.

In the class grouping and education of children who exhibit marked aberrations of personality and behavior, as well as in the treatment of individual children elsewhere in the grades whose progress in scholarship and whose responses to normal requirements, though less erratic, present behavior problems of a baffling, troublesome or suspicious nature, it is evident that the school cannot "go it alone." It has begun to realize the fact that it is not an isolated, or semi-isolated, institution which can perform its specific functions efficiently in comparative seclusion. It is simply one, although a very important one, of the many social forces which transmute childhood into adult citizenship. It is sometimes, indeed frequently, forgotten that during the months when school is in session the child is in attendance but five out of twenty-four hours each school day. This means that he is in school scarcely twelve per cent of the time, or a period equal to one year, is spent in school, and that the greater part, equal to seven years, is spent in the home, the neighborhood or else-

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where under influences that are either strengthening or undermining the work of his teachers.

To achieve this wider influence upon the whole life of the child, the school must exercise the same degree of skill and insight that has made possible its progress in other directions. It needs, in short, a specialist who can probe these children's difficulties, in school and outside, and who can utilize effectively every available resource to eliminate the harmful and conserve the good in their environment and in their educational opportunities. For that reason the school has been turning to the visiting teacher. With her training and experience both as a teacher and a social case worker, and with her special knowledge of the behavior and personality problems of children, she has the equipment needed for this work and thus represents one of the most interesting and promising of the recent efforts which the school is making to understand the pupil as a child and to meet his individual needs with high professional skill.

The regular teaching staff cannot perform this task unaided. Lack of time and energy, due to the pressure of class work, the preparation of class material, and after-school activities, often prevent teachers from knowing the home and out-of-school life of their pupils. With the reduction in the size of classes and the lightening of the teaching load, and with the development of a greater social consciousness through the addition of courses in social work and behavioristic psychology as part of professional preparation, teachers will it is hoped, become better acquainted with existing social conditions and their effect on their pupils. Even then, however, visiting teachers will naturally be needed to adjust many of the difficulties and to deal with many of the handicapping conditions which the class teacher may find in her visits. Except in extremely simple cases, there is needed a larger experience in social work than the class teacher can be expected to acquire while performing with full efficiency her regular duties. Furthermore, such work not only involves visits during regular school hours to see the mother alone, or at night to talk over with the family group the problems of the child, but requires a flexible time schedule for follow-up work and for emergency calls to various social agencies which the exigencies of class instruction make impossible.

LIKE everyone engaged in the profession of education, the visiting teacher must have not only the essential qualities of personality, but the technical equipment needed to understand and to deal effectively with the factors which comprise the specific problems in her field. To cooperate intelligently with teachers and school officials in the discovery and removal of handicapping conditions in the school itself, she must know professionally, by training and experience, the aims and procedure of the school. To aid parents and social agencies to cooperate effectively with each other and with the school in achieving an adjustment of the child's special difficulties, she must be able, through training and experience in social case work, to seek tactfully and skillfully for underlying causes in the home and the community and to understand clearly what social resources can or cannot be employed in any given case. In order that she may help the child to adjust himself to the opportunities in his environment and overcome the obstacles presented by his own personality, it is particularly desirable that she be familiar with the principles of modern psychology and psychiatry, and thus be equipped to detect adverse symptoms and call upon the specialists in these fields for aid whenever necessary or desirable. The visiting teacher must be a skilled craftsman who can analyze thoroughly the problems which confront her and can marshal social and educative forces inside and outside the school for clear and specific purposes. She naturally does many things directly to remedy a given situation, but her aim is primarily, not to duplicate what can best be done by others, but, rather, to bring into effective cooperation, for the welfare of the particular child, those agencies or measures which her knowledge of the situation indicates as essential.

The visiting teachers began work in the year 1906-07 in New York city, Boston, and Hartford, Conn. In these communities and later in other places, as has frequently happened with other educational experiments, the impulse came from outside the school system. Private organizations —in Boston, settlements and civic organizations; in New York, settlements and the Public Education Association; in Hartford, the director of the psychological laboratory—first saw the need, and privately maintained the work until school boards became convinced of its value and incorporated it as part of the system. In other cities, like Rochester, N. Y., Mt. Vernon, N. Y., and Cleveland, O., the work was introduced directly by the school authorities themselves.

In 1919 the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors was organized. Through the interchange of experience and the study of methods and common problems, it seeks to develop standards of work among its professional members, and, through personal efforts and the publication of reports, it endeavors to promote the development and extension of the work and to assist those who may establish it in new communities. It holds annual meetings alternately with the National Education Association and the National Conference of Social Work.

In 1921 the Commonwealth Fund included the work in its program for the prevention of delinquency, and, through the Public Education Association of the City of New York, organized a National Committee on Visiting Teachers to establish demonstrations in thirty communities in the United States which presented a wide variety of geographical, social and educational situations. While the directors of the Fund realized that a great part of the visiting teacher's work is concerned with scholarship, behavior and other types of unadjustment which, however serious their effect on the child's later career, may not necessarily lead to delinquency, it also realized that much delinquency can be prevented if problems of behavior and personality are adequately dealt with early in the child's school life.

As the value of visiting teacher case work in the preventive stages of unadjustment is becoming more generally recognized, the importance of employing a similar technique in other school departments is being more fully realized, and the treatment of attendance, health, vocational guidance and similar school problems outside the field of instruction in its restricted sense is being permeated with this awakened consciousness of the whole life of the child. The school is thus looking *out* as well as *in* for the enhancement of its purpose and is adding twenty-four-hour construction to its former five hours of instruction. It is realizing that mere presence in the flesh does not suffice when the children are absent in spirit.

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Everychild in Philadelphia

Where He Lives and What He Lives On

By JACOB BILLIKOPF

AT the outset, let me point out one feature of our civilization frequently overlooked and yet one of the most powerful factors in the lives of all of us today. Did you ever think of the strain to which people with small incomes are subjected by our continual pursuit of them to spend their money? Every newspaper, every magazine, every street, every railroad track, every street car, every country road is lined with advertisements carrying suggestions intended to be subtle, though often they are blatant, to buy, buy, buy. Every human impulse, good and bad, is played upon. Not only do we advertise publicly, but we send letters and agents to the homes to try to extract from any and every one what money he has. In every way we set about deliberately to make a person feel that life will be a failure unless he or she uses this soap or shaving cream, drives this automobile, owns this radio, sees this movie or play, eats this food, wears this collar, takes this trip or reads this newspaper. This continual pressure relentlessly applied subjects our working-class population to a strain which they cannot withstand, nor could we in their places. And then we wonder vaguely why there is a demand for wages and why thrift is not practiced in our communities as it was years ago, or as it is practiced in remote agricultural villages in Europe. Sometimes I find in one and the same person an advocate of the practice of thrift by the poor and of extensive advertising of all commodities and services.

The degree of this strain (it is only one detail of our economic life) will be better appreciated when we have before us somewhat more on the facts regarding the basic condition which underlies it—what families have to live on in this community.

402,946
FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA

THE feature of the All-Philadelphia Conference of Social Work held early in March was a graphic portrayal of the economic setting of childhood in this, one of our oldest and most prosperous industrial cities. It was presented by Mr. Billikopf, executive director of the Federation of Jewish Charities and impartial chairman in the men's clothing industry in New York city, as the result of statistical studies carried forward by the speaker, by Neva R. Deardorff, executive secretary of the Children's Commission of Pennsylvania and their associates. They offered it modestly enough as a "little scrap-book"—such a scrap-book as should be duplicated for every city in the country, for it held up for scrutiny not only some few of the more striking features in the situation faced by the social workers of the community in carrying out their tasks, but factors which reach deep into the justice and fundamental human solvency of our American industrial civilization. In a prefatory note Mr. Billikopf states: "Whatever merit, whatever originality, there be in this paper, the credit therefor is entirely due to Dr. Deardorff."

But before I take up what people have to live on, it is perhaps appropriate to turn for a moment to what they have to *live in*. The Census for 1920 gave 402,946 as the number of families in this city. The Census also calls these units "homes." The growth of the city in the five years that have elapsed since the Census was taken probably adds another thirty thousand. The housing situation in Philadelphia is characterized by some building activity in the field of relatively high priced homes, but very little additional provision is being made for the mass of people.

It has not been many decades since the normal condition of American home life was for the child to grow up on land and in a home which its parents owned. How far today is Everychild in Philadelphia participating in this American tradition? The Census of 1920 shows us that for the city as a whole one home in ten is owned outright. Three are owned but encumbered in some way and six families live in rented homes. Since 1920 the percentage of home ownership has probably increased a little, but the growth is very largely in the groups of homes encumbered by mortgages. There is no reason to suppose that the percentage of homes owned outright has materially increased.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that this is a general figure for the city as a whole and that neighborhoods vary considerably in the proportion of home ownership that prevails. How wide that variation is, can probably best be seen if we compare the first ten wards of the city with the twenty-second (Germantown) and the forty-second wards (Oaklane and Logan). In the first ten wards one home in nineteen is owned. In the twenty-

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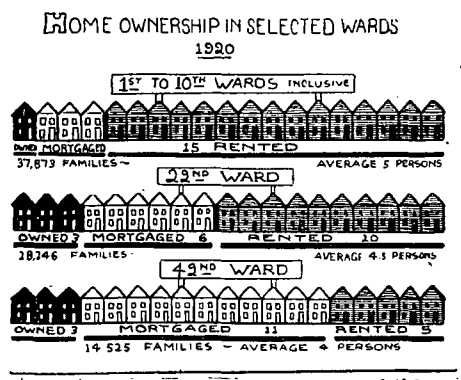
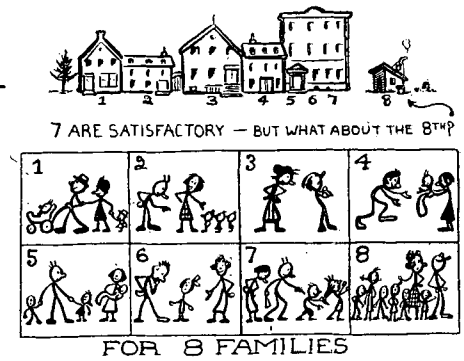
What sort of home has Everychild in Philadelphia?


HOME OWNERSHIP IN SELECTED WARDS
1920
1ST TO 10TH WARDS INCLUSIVE
OWNED MORTGAGED 15 RENTED
37,873 FAMILIES — AVERAGE 5 PERSONS
22ND WARD
OWNED 3 MORTGAGED 6 RENTED 10
28,246 FAMILIES — AVERAGE 4.5 PERSONS
42ND WARD
OWNED 3 MORTGAGED 11 RENTED 5
14,525 FAMILIES — AVERAGE 4 PERSONS



second and the forty-second, about three homes in nineteen are owned outright. In the first ten wards three out of nineteen homes are partially owned. In the twenty-second, six homes are partially owned, and in the forty-second, eleven are partially owned. The rented homes in the downtown section comprise fifteen of the nineteen, ten in the twenty-second ward, and about five in the forty-second ward.

From data collected by the Housing Association and by the United States Census, we are warranted in the conclusion that for the city as a whole about one family in eight is housed in a highly unsatisfactory way. Lodgings, alley properties, courts and crowded tenements are the homes of a considerable proportion of the children of the city. In a survey recently made by Karl de Schweinitz of the Society for Organizing Charity it was found that of 334 families of unskilled workers, 133 were living in "rooms." That is, they were not in quarters equipped to keep house in the usual way. The sizes of these families ranged from two to twelve persons. Among the 201 families who lived in houses, over one-fourth lived in three-room houses and a half lived in houses of four rooms or less. A recent survey of 768 families cared for by the Jewish Welfare Society and conducted by Dr. I. M. Rubinow, its director, showed that about half of the families lived in houses and the other half in "apartments." Many of those living in houses had sublet a part of the space so that only about one-third of these families occupied a house. Of these homes 20 per cent of the houses and 28 per cent of the apartments or "rooms" had no bath room; of the 377 "apartments," 60 per cent were heated by stoves, with all of the attendant drudgery of carrying coal and the problem of storing it in limited quarters. Forty-five per cent of the families in houses and 78 per cent of those living in apartments shared the toilet facilities with at least one other family.

High rents, no play space and the consequent withdrawal from parental supervision of the children who must play somewhere, the moral hazards of room overcrowding, the use of old houses known to be ridden with vermin and infected with disease, are all entailed in this shortage. Until this problem is better met, material for hospitals, courts and social workers will continue to be produced in unnecessary amounts. You will recall the story of Myra Kelly about the little boy who brought his school teacher a rent receipt as a Christmas present because he had heard his father remark as he handed it to his mother, that it was a present fit for a lady. Just how costly this ever recurring present is in proportion to the family income I shall discuss a little later. While Philadelphia still can make very brave claims in comparison with some other cities that it is a city of homes we must not get the impression that for the mass of people it is a city of owned homes.

When we make such a challenging generalization about Everychild, just how many children do we have in mind? The Census for 1920 indicates that of the 1,823,779 inhabitants there were 673,136 minors. That is, one-third of our population is below the age of twenty-one. When we note that there are two people over twenty-one for every one who is under that age it seems a bit curious that we older people are so flabbergasted by the problems of the youngsters. Have we here another of those cases in which an unorganized majority finds itself unable to cope with an active and determined minority? Certain it is that our numerical superiority seems to give us very little advantage in handling the situation. But view this basic fact of population from another angle. We are stewards of 670,000 young lives. That is certainly something Philadelphians can well think about—in the long view, about the only thing in life worth thinking very much about.

Of fifty persons in Philadelphia one is an infant under a year, four are what we call of pre-school age, ten range in age from five to fourteen, four are in the age period from fifteen to nineten; twenty-eight of our fifty are between twenty and sixty and only three over that age. I would particularly invite your attention to the group between fifteen and nineteen. I hardly need remind you that those years are the present battle ground of the child labor controversy. Of the four children in that group, one is still in school. The other three are not. Should we extend to seventeen years the period during which the schools have the first claim upon the child's time, only one more of these four children would be affected. In contrast, look at the array of thirty grown people between the ages of eighteen and sixty, of whom over half are gainfully employed. Does it not seem that they should be able somehow to take care of the seventeen children under seventeen years and the three persons over sixty? When we remember the enormous productivity that results from machinery and electricity we may all ask ourselves why it is that these thirty people are unable to keep the community fed, housed, clothed, washed, taught, doctored, defended and amused with incidental help from the children and the aged.

Please don't jump to the conclusion that I advocate idleness for young people. All that I want is that the young should be trained and educated and protected from the blighting effects of premature entrance into industry. Moreover, I don't like to see a community of grown people looking to the young children as a source of support or of labor supply. I ask you seriously whether it does not seem clear that there are enough grown people to prevent this if we really want to do it.

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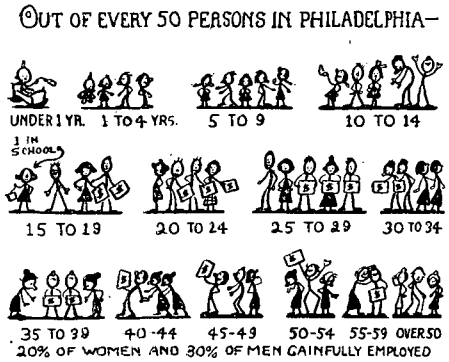
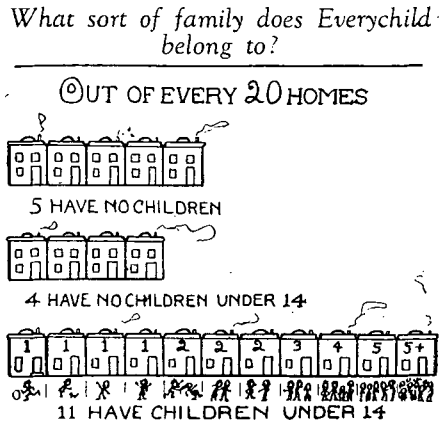
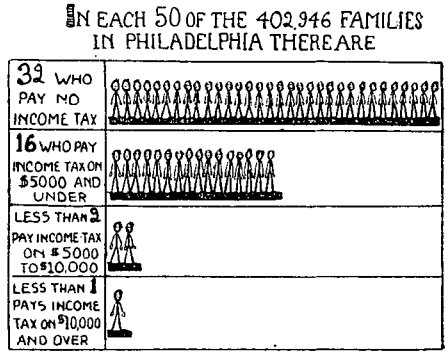



What sort of family does Everychild belong to?
OUT OF EVERY 20 HOMES
5 HAVE NO CHILDREN
4 HAVE NO CHILDREN UNDER 14
11 HAVE CHILDREN UNDER 14


IN EACH 50 OF THE 402,946 FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA THERE ARE
32 WHO PAY NO INCOME TAX
16 WHO PAY INCOME TAX ON $5000 AND UNDER
LESS THAN 2 PAY INCOME TAX ON $5000 TO $10,000
LESS THAN 1 PAYS INCOME TAX ON $10,000 AND OVER

One of the facts which is of great importance in all of this discussion is the uneven distribution of our child population in the families of the community. Statistically speaking we have two adults for one young person, but we all know that the adults are not grouped on that basis. On the one hand, we have the childless families in which adults are going to waste, so to speak, so far as child care is concerned, and on the other hand, we have some excessively large families in which our two adults are expected to cope with the problems of the support and care of not one, but eight, ten or more children. Let us see how the children in the community are distributed in the family units. Of every twenty families in the community, five have no children at all; four have no children under fourteen years, while eleven families have one or more children under fourteen years. Of these eleven families you will see that four have one child each, three have two children each, one has three children, one has four children, one has five children, and one has over five children. That means that of each twenty families in the community a rather small percentage, three or possibly four out of twenty are carrying the burden of having more than two or three children. There seems no doubt but what we are already living in the era of the small family, that Everychild in Philadelphia is more often than not growing up with a very small number of brothers and sisters, and that the colonial family is found in a relatively small percentage of cases. This fact may perhaps be related to the advertising customs I mentioned above combined with some other features I shall mention later.

And now as for income, first, let us ask what proportion of our people are in the income-tax group. Let us assume one income-tax payer to a family, which is a very conservative assumption because in the income-tax-paying groups, the well-to-do families, there is very apt to be more than one tax payer in the household—the adult son or daughter or the wife with independent means. But taking one taxpayer for each family, for a representative block of fifty of our 400,000 homes, thirty-two are found to have incomes below the lowest income-tax brackets. Sixteen have incomes of less than $5,000; less than two have incomes between $5,000 and $10,000; and less than one has an income of $10,000 and over. That is, over 60 per cent of our people have not sufficient income to pay income tax, while less than 2 per cent have an income of $10,000 and over.

In this connection we can refer to the careful studies of the National Bureau of Economic Research which I heartily recommend to every thoughtful American. Is it not curious that in this country so few of us have any information on the subject of the distribution of the national income? The figures for the year 1918, which, as you will recall, was one of great prosperity, show that of 37,569,060 income receivers

38.22	per cent	received	less than	$1,000
33.27	" "	between	1,000 and	1,500
13.90	" "	"	1,500 "	2,000
11.84	" "	"	2,000 "	5,000
1.56	" "	"	5,000 "	10,000
.68	" "	over	10,000	

The most prosperous 10 per cent of the population in 1918 received about 35 per cent of the national income, the next lower 30 per cent received about a third of the national income, while the least prosperous 60 per cent received about the remaining third. The Bureau summarizes its principal findings as follows:

Data regarding the detailed distribution of personal incomes are scanty and difficult to systematize; but the best approximation this Bureau has been able to make indicates that in 1918, the most prosperous 1 per cent of the income receivers had nearly 14 per cent of the total income, the most prosperous 5 per cent of the income receivers had nearly 26 per cent of the total, the most prosperous 10 per cent of the income receivers had nearly 35 per cent of the total, the most prosperous 20 per cent of the income receivers had about 47 per cent of the total income.

It should be noted that when we start from the top of the income scale, we must go down to people receiving $8,000 per annum, in order to include 1 per cent of the income receivers. Similarly, to include 5 per cent of the income receivers, we have to descend to incomes of $3,200—$3,300. To include 10 per cent, we must take in part of the $2,300—$2,400 class; and to include 20 per cent we must include part of the $1,700—$1,800 class.

In 1918, the year for which the best data are available, about 86 per cent of persons gainfully employed had incomes of less than $2,000 per annum, and about 14 per cent had incomes exceeding that sum.

In the same year, about 60 per cent of the National Income was divided among the 86 per cent of the gainfully employed who had incomes less than $2,000 per anum, and about 40 per cent of the National Income was divided among the 14 per cent of the gainfully employed who had incomes exceeding $2,000.

From what sources is income derived in Pennsylvania? In the old days ours was an agricultural country and children were supported directly from the land. That day is apparently gone in Pennsylvania. We do not have an occupational distribution for city or country. For the state as a whole the United States Census shows that only about 10 per cent of those gainfully occupied are in agricultural pursuits. The ratios for farming and mining do not apply in Philadelphia. Possibly as many as 12 or 15 per cent of the children of the city are supported by trade and, perhaps, 4 or 5 per cent by the professions. Clerical work, transportation, and domestic service support a possible 17 or 18 per cent. But we shall not be far wrong in assuming that directly or indirectly Everychild's support in Philadelphia is

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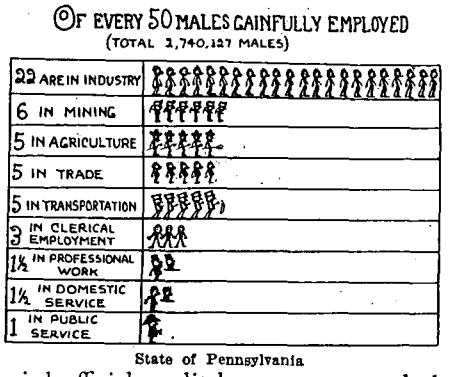


State of Pennsylvania

largely derived from industry.

And in industry, how is income distributed? From the United States Census Bureau we learn that in Philadelphia County there are in industry about 12,700 salaried officials, a little over 35,000 clerks, and an average of over 281,000 wage earners. There were a total of 303,210 wage earners on a representative day, but the 281,000 is more nearly the number actually employed. There are also about 9,500 proprietors and firm members. From the proceeds of the industry the 12,697 salaried officials in the year 1919 drew about $51,000,000 for their services, or an average of about $4,000 each . The 35,000 clerical workers, male and female, drew $49,000,000, or an average of about $1,400 each. The wage earners, with a little less than one woman for each two men, drew $326,000,000, or an average of about $1,170 each.

That was for all industry for the city as a whole. What are the conditions in some specific industries and employments? First, let us take the textile industry. In 1919 a study was made of the Philadelphia textile industries. It covered 625 plants and 60,467 workers. It was undoubtedly representative of the conditions of that industry in a highly prosperous year. Taking the industry as a whole, the average wage was $934.16, or slightly over $18 a week. As you all know, the textile industry employs a large proportion of women. This study showed that proportion to be 55.6 per cent. Dividing up the wages into those paid to men and those paid to women, it was found that the men were receiving an average wage of $1,200 per year, or an average of a little over $23 a week, and that the women were receiving $850, or an average of about $16 a week. There was some variation in the different branches of the industry. The women's annual average wage varied from $591.67 per year to $955, while the men's ranged from $1,061 to $1,700. As the average for the industry is $1,200 for the men, you can readily see that there was not a very large proportion paid at the $1,700 rate.

Next let us take a look at what the city of Philadelphia itself pays its employes. Let us begin with the unskilled labor group. Of 4,402 *unskilled* laborers in the city employ a full year of employment at the hour or day rate would provide the following incomes:

Total	4,402
Under $900	525
$1000 to $1100	891
$1100 to $1200	2,520
$1200 to $1300	319
$1300 to $1400	2
$1400 to $1500	108
$1500 to $1600	37

But we usually think of the big wages which the *skilled* workmen pull down. Let us take a look at them. We have records of 213 bricklayers, carpenters, painters and plumbers employed by the city. Their salaries range from $1,400 to something less than $2,100. As there are only four in the group whose salaries exceed $1,900 I shall give you the distribution for 209 of these skilled workers. For each twenty of them, four received between $1,400 and $1,500, one between $1,500 and $1,600, seven between $1,600 and $1,700, six between $1,700 and $1,800, and two between $1,800 and $1,900. For 1,685 skilled mechanics of various sorts employed by the city the figures show a range of salary from less than $900 to more than $2,500. All but seventy-five of these positions fall between $1,200 and $2,000. Of sixteen such positions:

Four are between	$1200	and	$1300
One between	1300	and	1400
Three between	1400	and	1500
Two between	1500	and	1600
Two between	1600	and	1700
One between	1700	and	1800
Two between	1800	and	1900
One between	1900	and	2000

And, of course, in these proportions, there would be but one to represent the men receiving over $2,000.

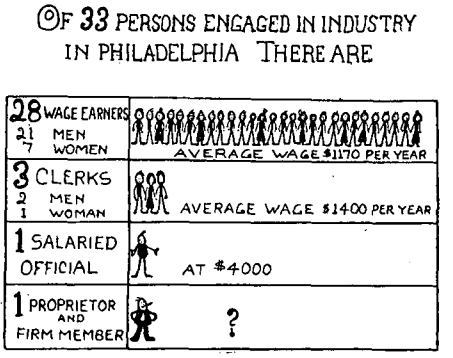
A reference to those aristocrats of the labor world, the organized workers in the building trades, cannot be omitted. What are these men paid? For an average year of forty weeks of employment, which is considered a prosperous year for the workers in these employments, even the high hourly rates so much talked about, show the following yearly incomes:

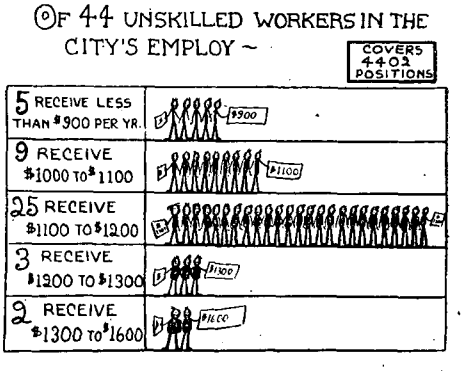
Metal lathers	$2,860
Tunnel workers, bricklayers and tile layers	2,640
Elevator constructors	2,332
Sign painters and plasterers	2,400
Slate and tile roofers, stone masons and stone cutters, wood lathers and structural iron workers	2,200

These constitute the highest paid workers in the building industry. Other workers range about $1,700 to $1,800 or $1,900.

In the metal trades even the union wages are not so good. A few of the top wages in the bakery trade, clothing trade, lithographing and electrotyping and for cylinder pressmen are upwards of $2,800 to $3,000 provided the worker is employed the solid year.

If the aristocrats of the labor world have wages seldom in excess of $3,000, what of the rank and file of workers? The State Employment office reports that common labor is now offered thirty-five to fifty cents an hour or a range of wage from $18.90 to $27 for a week of fifty-four hours. Continuous employment for a year at this rate yields an income





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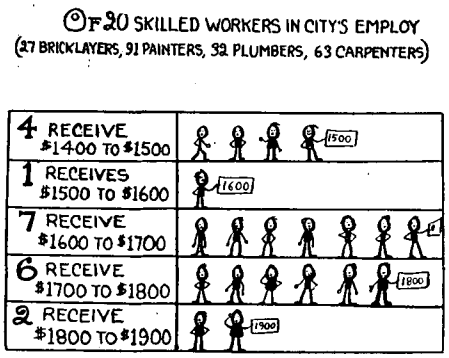
of $982.80 to $1,404. Semi-skilled and the unorganized skilled workers are offered wages which yield from $1,400 to $1,800 per year, provided they have continuous employment.

Our statistics are not sufficiently detailed to enable us to say just what proportion of the workers of this city are paid at the various rates. We do know, however, from the figures printed in the Business Review of the Third Federal Reserve District, from the United States Census reports and from the special studies which I have mentioned, that the great mass of our men workers receive a wage which falls between $1,000 and $1,500, and the great mass of the employed women in industry from $800 to $1,000. Everychild in Philadelphia by and large must be raised on incomes of that size, and that is the fact of moment.

Money is, however, not the real test. It is only valuable for what it will buy. We are fortunate in having for Philadelphia unusually good figures on the cost of living. Our Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research whose work deserves greater appreciation has made a distinct contribution in the study of this subject. When one looks at the distribution of the wage earner's expenditures as it was found by this bureau's studies one finds little evidence of riotous luxury. According to the latest available detailed figures (which are based on the prices of 1923) the minimum cost of maintaining a family of five in health and decency in Philadelphia was $1,854.28. This total is distributed into the following principal items:

Total	$1,854.28
Housing at $37 per month	444.00
Fuel and light	103.70
Food	536.54
Clothing	354.37
Carfare	44.23
Cleaning and supplies	49.60
Insurance	58.23
Health	47.41
Furniture and furnishings	50.57
Dues, contributions and taxes	35.25
Recreation and amusement	22.99
Education and reading	18.39
Miscellaneous expenditures (spending money, moving, legal and criminal expenses	88.88

Since these prices were secured, the cost-of-living index number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics shows advances which indicate that the cost of maintaining such standards in December, 1924, was $1923.08.


OF 20 SKILLED WORKERS IN CITY'S EMPLOY
(27 BRICKLAYERS, 91 PAINTERS, 32 PLUMBERS, 63 CARPENTERS)
4 RECEIVE $1400 TO $1500
1500
1 RECEIVES $1500 TO $1600
1600
7 RECEIVE $1600 TO $1700
6 RECEIVE $1700 TO $1800
1800
2 RECEIVE $1800 TO $1900
1900

And there we have the crux of the problem of the mass of people of Philadelphia. The wages of the great mass of men workers yield from $1,000 to $1,500 and the cost of living amounts to $1923.

Our people cannot be spending that much for they do not have it to spend. What solutions are our people adopting? Different groups adopt different methods. It is obvious that marriage is being postponed by a considerable proportion of our people. It is also obvious that a large proportion of them are limiting the size of their families. The work of women and children pieces out the income in another group of families. And still others live on a standard of living in which health, decency and self-repect are jeopardized. At this point let me remind you again of the intense stimulation of the desire to have things which can only be purchased with money. I sometimes wonder whether there is not far more danger of a social revolution caused by making people want intensely what they cannot buy than of one caused by talking to them about theories of distribution.

How does this situation relate to the task confronting social work? Is it not now clear that the study of industry and its problems has the first mortgage on the concern of the community? And is it not the business of social workers to keep that point ever in mind?

In the everyday job of social work it seems to me there are several implications which we must bear in mind. What kind of service is going to be of maximum help to our people who face this situation with the discrepancy which I have mentioned?

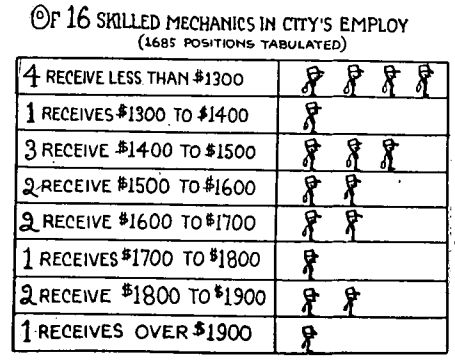
The first point seems to be that those educational activities which will help people maintain a fair degree of health and comfort upon very slender resources will be of maximum benefit to them. If one has less than ten dollars a week upon which to feed a family of five, what should one buy with it? If one cannot afford to rent an adequate house, what should one sacrifice, a living room, a bed room, or a bath? It would seem to be the business of social workers to advise as wisely as they may.

Second, how are we going to counteract the pressure to buy what is cheap and tawdry and trashy and teach people who can have very little to care only for what is fine and beautiful? If one has a great deal of money he can experiment and make mistakes. If one has only a very little money it is vastly more important that he should choose what he buys with extreme care. In this respect it seems to me that the working classes of certain parts of Europe are learning faster than the people of America, possibly because of the older culture there. Art galleries, good music, artistic pageantry, good drama, are coming more rapidly in certain parts of Europe into the possession of the working classes than they are in America.

My third point bears on expert service for the maintenance of health and the treatment of disease. It is obvious that the mass of our working population has no money to spend for high priced medical service. We must have good free health service and inexpensive cooperative health services.

My fourth point concerns ways of finding the gifted children in the community who are born in families with incomes which make it quite impossible for their talents to receive proper development and cultivation. Certainly for the good of all

(*Cont. on p.* 61)


OF 16 SKILLED MECHANICS IN CITY'S EMPLOY
(1685 POSITIONS TABULATED)
4 RECEIVE LESS THAN $1300
1 RECEIVES $1300 TO $1400
3 RECEIVE $1400 TO $1500
2 RECEIVE $1500 TO $1600
2 RECEIVE $1600 TO $1700
1 RECEIVES $1700 TO $1800
2 RECEIVE $1800 TO $1900
1 RECEIVES OVER $1900

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Cities, and the Soils They Grow From

By PATRICK GEDDES

Cartoons By Hendrik Willem Van Loon

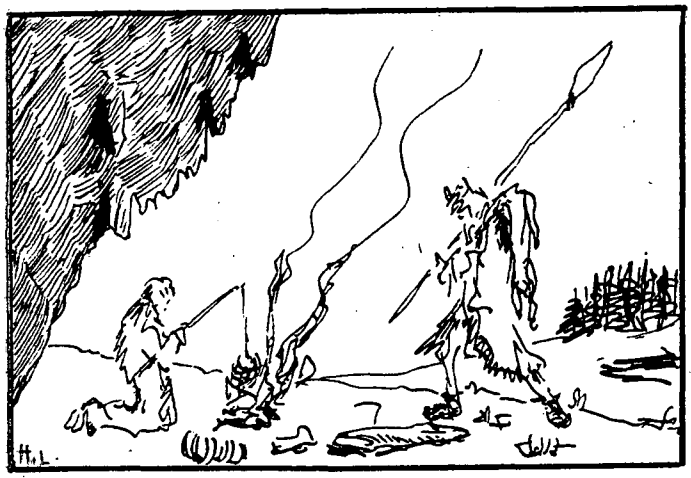
WHETHER you look out with me from my Outlook Tower in Edinburgh—or from the Eiffel Tower in Paris or the old dome of St. Paul's in London, the city we scan is set in the matrix of a vastly and minutely complex and heterogeneous world.

It is the same if we view Chicago's lake-front from the high office building which (financially speaking) your Mr. Wrigley built out of chewing gum or overlook New York's skyscrapers from the topmost story of the loftiest and most impressive of them that owes its steel girders and graceful pinnacles alike to the profits from the five and ten cent counters which Mr. Woolworth set up in a hundred American Main Streets. It is as true of provincial towns as of national capitals, as true for yesterday and tomorrow as for today. What encompasses us if we climb the Washington Monument, with its stone from every state in the Union, would have held a hundred years ago had we perched ourselves on the Liberty Pole that marked the center of the typical American village.

Where then, as town dwellers, yet also general inquirers, shall we get our bearings in the world about us? We must find our beginnings somewhere. Conveniently for us of the Western world, our Occidental traditions are distinguishable from those of Oriental cultures: enough so that we can concentrate upon that comparatively small peninsula of Asia which is called Europe; and in this we must focus first upon the eastern Mediterranean region. From thence has arisen most of our present common civilization, thanks largely to what it acquired from Asia and from Egypt.

I

WE are thus brought face to face with the enormous and laborious studies of histories, literatures, origins, to which Van Loon or Wells give excellent introductory primers. Take first however, from among older books a single volume, helpful for our quest: Marsh's story of The Earth and Man.* I hail its author as one of the greatest of geographers, and even of historians, since he did for geography what no predecessor had adequately done; and likewise for history, what no other successor of our greatest historian has been able to do; he outranged Gibbon. As American minister to Italy, and interested in old Rome as every cultivated visitor must be, he became dissatisfied with Gibbon's Decline and Fall as an historic and social narrative (albeit the very greatest), and came to see this retrogression of City and Empire, afresh, as deeply a geographical matter.



The elementary division of human labor

Below, behind, beyond this great history of Rome, he got down to bedrock; down to the primitive, matriarchal, and persistent, fact, that women are in the way of feeding men, provided their men will bring them the stuff to cook, and the fuel to cook it with.

This elementary human division of labor, whereby the man brings the game or cultivates the crop, and the woman cooks, provided there be also provision of fuel, is basic to Mediterranean civilization, as to every other since fire was discovered and men left off eating all things raw. "Fir tree" is really "Fire tree"; and down it comes. Advancing civilization

Fir tree is really fire tree

also clears the forests for its crops; it needs more and more wood; lumber for dwellings and for ships, for implements and weapons; but beyond all else for fuel. The forest seems for a long time limitless, and no one thinks of replanting; so man is even now disforesting the earth. This great region of the Mediterranean has longest been steadily desolated of its woods, from end to end, from Spain to Palestine.

Now the rain in these lands falls often in torrents. Where trees bind and hold up the soil, the waters are absorbed into its sponge, and sink into and saturate the rocks

* Or (in its later edition) The Earth as Modified by Human Action.

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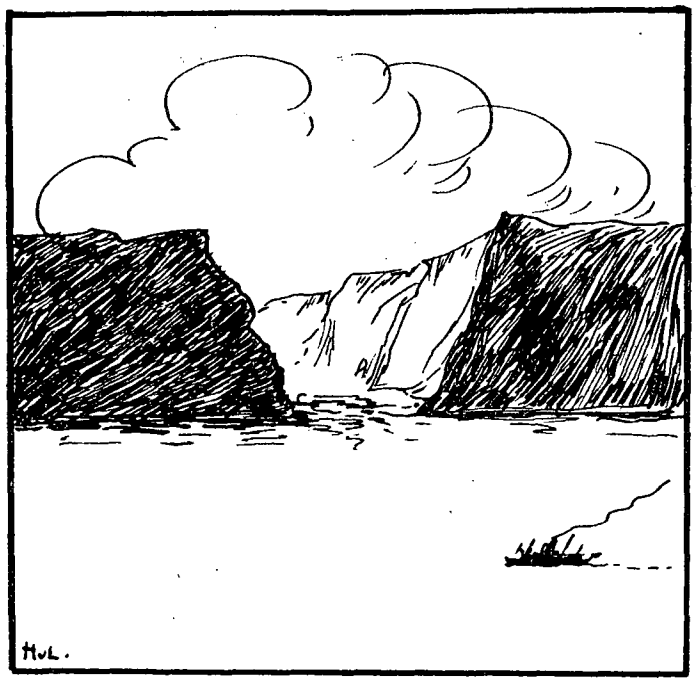
below; the mountain range is thus a great reservoir also. But where the trees are cleared, their roots no longer hold and bind. Irregularities catch and retain some of the soil, but we often find regular slopes which have been washed well nigh as clear as are our roofs. The mountains are denuded, their vast reservoirs of moisture dry up, and the humus is carried down to the plains below. Thus lately in planning the town of Haifa on the northward coast of Palestine, I learned the soil was no less than fifty feet deep on the plain below Mount Carmel—a useless depth for any purpose—while the hill-sides above were correspondingly bared. The shallowed port too has the same explanation; and this process alone accounts for many a city's decline.



Minor mountain-masses rise from near the shore

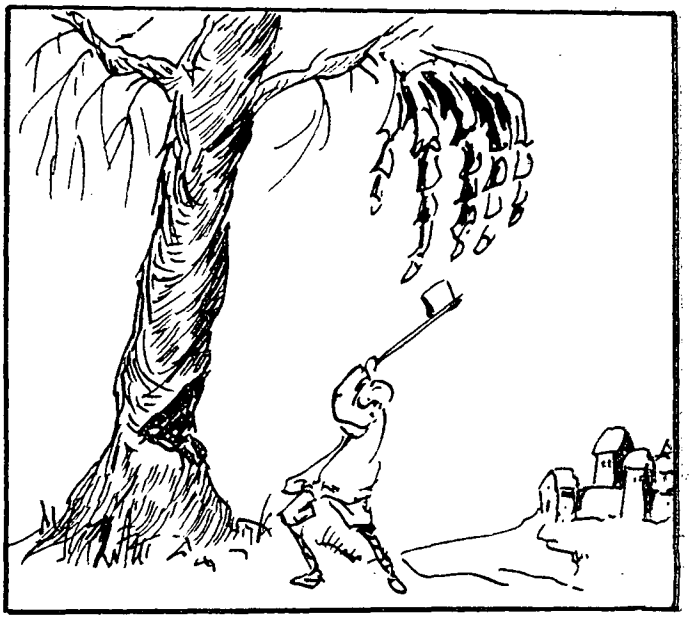
Under such conditions large rivers—especially those like the Rhone, and the Durance—in their spring floods bring down not only earth and sand, but gravel, and even boulders; and thus fertile estuary plains have been made stony deserts. Note also that though of old there must have been river floods, these came from forested hills, bringing but light washings of their surface soil, and thus of the best agricultural and manurial value, like those which the Nile deposits upon Egypt to this day. When the trees are gone, the torrent is of briefer duration, but far stronger and swifter while it lasts, since there is no longer the forest humus to retain it. Hence light soil is now carried impetuously out to sea, shallowing and spoiling the old ports though our age would need them at their deepest; while up-stream stones, formerly well embedded, are now loosened, and whirled down upon the plain, henceforward irregular and uneven, here dry and barren, there marshy and malarious. Again, the washed-down soil, on reaching the sea, may be carried along the coast by currents and tides, and make shallow lagoons useless and unfavorable for shipping, but harbors for pestiferous mosquitoes. The disasters of disforesting are thus manifold.

As I revise this manuscript, our ship is running along the east coast of Sicily, between Messina and Catania—a noble landscape, with Etna towering behind the minor mountain-masses which rise from near the shore. Fine valleys separate them; but down through each there runs a long swathe of desert, so amazingly broad that most passengers can hardly believe it to be a stream-bed, until they have passed round the binoculars. These have now been embanked by modern engineers, at great expense, to prevent further mischief. But along these thirty miles or so there seems enough bed-space for all the rivers of the British Isles—so great is the loss of what was formerly the very best area for agriculture.

Worst of all, the uneven deposit of detritus upon the plain in floodtime leaves lakelets or useless marshes, throughout all seasons. The larger pools dry up gradually into smaller ones, which none the less are rimmed with a greater aggregate length of shallow edges. In all these the mosquito finds the growing water weeds or the rotting grasses, often a mixture of both, which afford it nutrition for its larval life and protection from being devoured by the smaller fishes. To mature her eggs the female mosquito must have at least one meal of blood; and hence not only cattle are bitten, but man, with his thin smooth skin, is tormented yet more, until he is driven to shut out air, as far as may be, from his dwelling at night; and in the open to sleep with head so deeply wrapped up that the air of our most crowded slums may be fresh in comparison.

II

THE modern interpretation of the spread of malaria as a "germ" alternating between the mosquito and man, and with a complicated life cycle in each, is well set forth in every natural history museum, and so needs no explanation here. But "the pestilence walketh in darkness"; and hence comes the old dread of "night air," which I remember often hearing in my Scottish childhood. It may be found today persisting in New York, for example, especially among Italians and other Mediterraneans, The main point for us, however, as regards the secret of malaria, is its significance in classic history. For it has become increasingly clear that we have here a further contribution to the story of the decline and fall of Rome—of Athens too, of Greece, and indeed of much of the whole Mediterranean littoral; an interpretation underlying that of Marsh, as his underlay that of



When the trees are gone . . .

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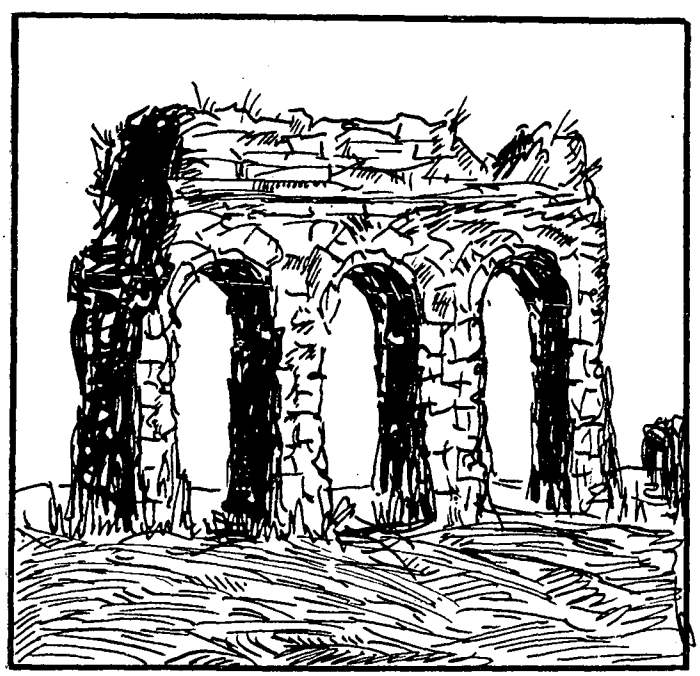
Gibbon; and thus giving us the long tragedy as a more continuously intelligible whole—in which man not only destroys his fellow-man, but Nature; and she avenges herself, not only in the fall of man's age-long rich cultivation, to poverty, but even by his disease and death.

This last point has been worked out with considerable thoroughness, by Jones and others, beginning with the age when philosophy was culminating in Plato, but when the ruin and decadence of Greece was also setting in. Some of Plato's word-painting of types of men he noticed, is now identified by the medical reader as a good diagnosis, alike of the bodily and mental effects of malaria. These again he reads into the characters and doings of some of the worst Roman emperors and kindred decadents—so strangely akin to attributes at which we shudder in the story of the slave-trade—yet now with a touch of medical compassion for the deeds of emperor and slaver alike, as stirred to madness of crime by fever. The corresponding swing-back to indifference and apathy is a yet more characteristic (and fortunately more general) expression of the malarious taint. This is the usual symptom—that of the depression of life, mental as well as bodily. Its ruinous effect upon working powers, and thence easily upon habits, even after recovery, throws further light upon the widespread Mediterranean decline. And, of course, also upon our understanding of many "backward" places, and their people, to this day.

The Campagna of Rome—once a fertile and populous



The city could not but decline

farmland, important for its food supplies to the great city, thus fell into a depopulated and pestiferous region throughout the middle ages. Only now, with our modern knowledge of how to combat the mosquito, is it becoming reclaimed. The historic shrinkings of the population of Rome are thus largely explained by fever-infection, aggravated by diminished food supplies: and though the city itself stands high enough above its plain to afford comparatively few breeding-places, the mosquito can do with small puddles. The many aqueducts which were the glory of ancient Rome, and brought a supply of water per head larger than that of any modern city, must also have contributed not a little to its decline, as they fell into disrepair.

In such ways then the city could not but decline; and thus lose heart. Yet so great a center could not disappear altogether; the more since its fallen temporal power was replaced by a spiritual one, in its way yet more potent and more enduring. Curiously enough too, the malarious Campagna proved more defensive to the Holy City than its surviving towers and ramparts could have been. Again and again, beleaguering armies, encamped here, melted down to retreating remnants. In the absence of the modern explanation, what more obvious than that of divine protection of the sacred city, and displeasure with its enemies?

Here then is the long and tragic panorama, as modern science draws it, of the decline and fall of this great Mediterranean region—yesterday the garden of the world and the mother of its western civilizations—today a region of poverty, mostly waiting to be redeemed; though happily now in renewing progress at many points, and, by and by, at all.

III

WHAT then was the old state of Nature? Let us again visualize it, and as clearly as we can. A vast region of forested mountain slopes, at best with narrow plains, and these in forest too. Very much like the land to which the Pilgrim Fathers came; all waiting to be cleared; and needing axe to do it, often helped—swiftly, but wastefully—by fire, and this especially on the mountain slopes. But mountains are not merely rocky: think of them rather as water-sponges, soaked and filled with long-accumulated rainfall, and thus an unfailing source which enables their trees to survive dry seasons and keep the plain of the subsoil moist. A tree is not a static object: think of it as Ruskin truly called it, a living fountain, pouring out through its leaves, into the air, enormous quantities of water-vapor daily; and see too how the fall of the leaves makes deep, rich soil, which the roots, and the undergrowth, hold firm. But when the trees are cut from the hill-side, down goes the soil as mud with every rainfall, soon exposing the bare rocks to the sun. The "water-plane," normally so near the surface, thus sinks down; and that is the falling tide of Mediterranean history. Our surviving natural terraces hence become decreasingly watered, their soil becomes exhausted; and dry seasons soon ruin the cultivators. Barren marshes and pools form upon the plain with its irregular deposits; malaria arises and spreads; cities and empires fall. This is our modern reading of history; deeper than Gibbon's, yet profoundly illuminating it with Marsh's aid, and essentially explaining it, with that of the malariologist's.

Still, the world is always beginning anew, though too often on a far poorer level. Nowhere can one see today a a more strenuous and encouraging agricultural endeavor than for example on the Italian and French Riviera. On a steep rockslope, well nigh as bare and free of soil as a house-roof, I have watched an enterprising young couple, who had built themselves a little cottage, building up their land as well. The man not only gathered stones, but broke up rocks, to build his terrace wall. His wife trotted down to the brook and filled her basket with earth, then came uphill slowly with it upon her head, and tilted the contents behind his new wall. So they were gradually making a narrow range of soil; deep behind the wall, and shallowing upwards to where a new terrace would begin. Last year's terrace had not only vines, but two or three young olives, with vegetables below. They were not only

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building up a modest but real prosperity for their later life, but pioneering for their country's renewing future, as truly as any American settlers yesterday, or Canadian today; indeed in some ways yet more significantly.

In such ways, throughout the ancient and unhistoric past, far more truly progressive than the later historic age, which has seen so much of tragedies and deteriorations, these all-essential terraces were built, higher and higher up the hills, often to the very tops. Hence their survivals, their traces at least, throughout all Mediterranean lands from Spain to Syria, and beyond, through Persia, along the Himalayan valleys, and on to those of China. Indeed northward too, as in the bronze age on Arthur's Seat: and even here in Old Edinburgh; where our "Outlook Tower Gardens" but restore a terrace cultivation lost for centuries unnumbered.

You still get the impression of wealth in visiting Barcelona, Marseilles and Genoa, Rome and Naples, Athens and other great cities. Yet nothing is more certain, no economic statement can be more clear and sound, than that the ancient Mediterranean past, with its ranges of terraces from Spain to Syria, was enormously richer—in well-invested capital and in actual return—than are these regions now, with all their modern wealth, of manufacturing, shipping, railways and what not. This old world was immeasurably richer; and correspondingly more deeply and truly civilized. Why then did it decline? By the continual destruction, for all uses, of the remaining timber above the terraces without replanting. That foresight was lacking: and indeed it is only beginning to dawn upon us. Thus, even the daily need of women, who must have fuel before they can cook, involved first the steady ruin of the forests; and to this day even of the shrubs and brushwood, the clearing of which for faggots prevents natural regeneration, and makes artificial planting always more difficult and slow.

Only since the later decades of the nineteenth century have France, Italy and even Spain in some measure awakened to reforesting. Thanks to foresters like Pinchot, and to energists like Roosevelt, America is now also on the move. Yet in all lands still far too insufficiently. The decisive modern object-lesson may thus be that of the Zionists, where in Palestine they are gradually rebuilding their hillside terraces made thousands of years ago, and broken down for ages; and where we may see before long the vast electric power of the Jordan Valley applied to carrying up earth for the cultivation of its terraces, and the renewal of the forests above. That would be a regenerated Holy Land; for in this "building up the old waste places" lies the concrete future of Zionism. Here in fact is the essential, fundamental and rational view of their problem—one underlying all other modern social, political and cultural considerations. These indeed at present too much obscure this fundamental task, though they should be grounded upon it.

IV

DO I seem to be undervaluing such higher considerations? By no means; but preparing for them. Take a salient example. Every orator in every country uses "the olive branch" as symbol of peace; but how few can tell why that stock phrase stands for it? Since earliest Athens, the olive tree of Pallas has stood for wisdom too. Academic orators constantly so refer to it; but how often do they really know why? Yet it is very simple.

Suppose as young men we start building our terraces; growing meanwhile what little corn and vegetables we can in strips along them. The vines we plant against the terrace walls are bearing profitably in four years. But with our olives, we have to wait fifteen years before we have a paying crop of fruit. Thus, even starting in our early twenties, we get to middle life before our olive trees really pay. That is a far longer and stiffer discipline than had the colonists of America; for, hard though their work was of clearing the land, their plowing thereafter brought quick return, and with no waiting for half a generation. Our olives, however, go on improving till they are sixty, and then they last, no one yet knows how long, but assuredly for many centuries. A few thick gnarled old survivors in Palestine are known as "Romans"; and though this popular name may be challenged, it is not impossible it may be right. With such slow but steady investment then, for our main fortune, is it not manifest that we are on the side of peace? For we have the very strongest desire not to have our olive trees cut down for boiling the pots of even friendly armies, let alone hostile ones. We see that, either way, war comes to much the same thing.

In Palestine this inevitable destruction, by both combatants, of too many of the few remaining olives, along with the last oak forests, was one of the inconspicuous but genuine tragedies of the world war. Again, nothing was more aggravating to the French on the western front than the cutting down of their fruit trees by the Germans in retreat. Such an ordinary fruit tree takes a vigorous man a few blows with an axe, and down it goes. But no soldiers, after a day's march, will attack the tough proposition of an olive-trunk if they can possibly help it. Only hunger, only the need of fuel for food, compels this task. Still, down they went, and with them the last resource of prosperity of a region. Yet it must be added, that now in peace-time fuel has become frightfully dear, so that the needy peasant, who has a few old olive trees left, has often to cut them down to sell for firewood in Jerusalem, and so aggravate his ruin.

In short, then, nothing can more clearly protest against war, and plead for peace, than an olive region; since its destruction, of all cultures, is the most lamentably hard and long to repair.

What now of the olive as tree of wisdom? This tree was traditionally given to Athens by the Wisdom-Goddess, Pallas Athena, who thus won from the Olympian Gods the reward of giving to the city its immortal name. Why? After toil of planting our trees and waiting for their crop, we come to have its return with comparative leisure; leisure after all fairly early in middle life; and leisure (*"schola"*) from the first for the younger generation: hence their "school." The intensive culture of fruit trees is one of care and skill, but not excessive toil. It is a pleasant and fairly easy occupation, which gives long periods of leisure; yet keeps up foresight and attentive skill; and so maintains character. Our area of cultivation needed for moderate prosperity is small: we are near our neighbors, and so we form a congenial community; yet, as the olive tree usually bears well only every second year, we have a permanent education in thrift as well. And so we might go on with the cultural aspects of fruit-growing, in all lands and times, and this alike upon political and pacific levels, on intellectual levels also—scientific, philosophic and artistic—as at Athens; on spiritual levels—as at Jerusalem.

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Jerusalem and Athens—each in its own way the supreme culture-city of humanity—were both of them founded on, and associated with, the olive tree. Each—above all in its supreme influences—is best understood, and remembered, as a "Mount of Olives."

V

THE much-talked of "economic interpretation of history" is thus no mere formula of modern schools of doctrine; as from Montesquieu, Buckle and more to Karl Marx. It has to be traced throughout the whole life and labor of man, and thence onwards, into its highest outcomes. The school of Marx is too easily satisfied with its modern industrial rendering of the story; but the earlier and later schools of Le Play, as yet so little known in English or German, have long been working out the wider and deeper method I have touched upon. But why this current neglect of the Le Play method and teaching by our scholarly world?—indeed even more by the religious? Because here is science "shaking the very foundations of (conventional) belief," by proving that the venerable stories of Athens, which our elder scholars have thought "mythology," and those of Jerusalem which our religious teachers have too much thought of as "sacred poetry," are really, both of them, solid matter-of-fact prose as well; and all this not only in the past, but for the future also. For here in fruit-culture, best of all cultures, and with olive-growing first among them, we have not only a main clue towards the interpretation of these ancient civilizations, but towards their renewal upon our modern spiral. For this culture we now see sweeping from Palestine, with its Zionist ambition to build second to none among the world's universities; and along the Mediterranean; and thence again across the world, to fruit-growing California, with its manifold cultural developments, its yet vaster and nascent ambitions, to become a new and greater Hellas for the American continent, if not for all the wide Pacific.

VI

AS specific illustration of the need for regional planning—and wellnigh world-planning—what greater field for geotechnics than Afforestation? We need not here recapitulate the many endeavors in progress—in various parts of Europe, the ruined Mediterranean especially; yet also from Scotland to India, and back again; and similarly in the United States, from great schemes for the too largely desolated Appalachians to the admirable educational lessons of Arbor Day. Assuming these as known, they are all admittedly insufficient to cope with a situation so manifold.

Capital, and on a great scale, is needed for such task; and this has to be sunk, at first with no return, and then with small, say for ten years with even the quicker-growing trees, and for fifteen, twenty, thirty years and more, for slower ones. Under these circumstances, old men see no return. Young men need all they have for their start in life; and by maturity they have their funds fully involved in their concerns, and in ways of more speedy promise. Hence many cry to the state to intervene, and this now and then it does, but with measures in most countries, indeed all, quite inadequate. Yet a government has no magic purse; and, under growing democratic conditions, too often but a hand-to-mouth existence. Let us therefore face the situation—that no ordinary funds are available! On closer examination, there comes into view one fund, and that not inconsiderable, of annual savings by an ever-increasing proportion of the public, which are not invested in any highly remunerative returns, though appreciably cumulative within a lifetime. I refer, of course, to our regularly paid premiums of life-insurance. But what dare our companies do with these, save invest them upon the best security they can find; and therefore at comparatively low interest? One of the most frequent forms of this investment, in fact the predominant one, must needs be in mortgages upon land: for they thus avoid the uncertainties, even risks, of its cultivation.

Yet is not this task of afforestation one—even the very one—which may thus be undertaken? Suppose we form a Foresting Insurance Company, and so put our premiums into trees? They grow slowly, yet at compound interest, while we are sleeping; and they are ready to be cut down and realized—at normally increasing values also, as timber and fuel prospects indicate—in time for our own life-cutting by the inexorable shears.

True, there are forest fires, and blights and disasters of many kinds, but existing forest owners already insure against these; and so must we.

The technique of forestry is well known: skilled direction and labor can readily be had; and on very reasonable terms, so attractive is such life. And this also of peculiarly high character; for the forester, of all occupations, with his long foresight, best learns the wisdom of his craft, with all its varied seasonal labors, from planting to felling, and then replanting; and with patient and thrifty vigilance meanwhile. And if so, is not all this an invaluable element of insurance?

Many years before the famous "rubber-boom," I had been preaching as botanist and tree-lover, yet something of rural economist too, the coming need of rubber, and the desirability of planting accordingly. But to deaf ears; for "the practical man" was not practical enough: and when in this case he did come to act, it was in haste of speedy returns.

Our forestry, then, as insurance, begins with family finance, at one end; yet it is also regional development at the other. As such, it is in principle a substantial economic interest, to be regulated and guarded by governments. But if so, here is another social element of security: so with all this why should not its policies be esteemed and come into demand as have those of older companies, on their existing business basis? Ordinary insurance reports are after all not very interesting reading; but ours would have cheering photo-blocks of its forests in growth: and it might even encourage its shareholders to come and see, and camp, in their own property, of pines, oranges or oil-palms, as their travel might allow. Surely these are forms of advertising more interesting than can be mere ordinary print; and calculated to make new agents, interested in the propaganda, and not solely in their commissions?

So far we have been outlining this scheme towards afforestation as a new and separate undertaking: but may we not also incite the existing insurance companies to look into the matter, and begin experimenting for themselves?

Enough however of this illustration; for this is not a prospectus, but an example of the thesis of these papers; that of the coming in of survey and service, of geography and geotechnics along lines of constructive individual and social action, and towards turning declines and falls into renewing rise.

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What Has She Done With It?

Brattleboro

By MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

Driving safely into Brattleboro

A FEW years ago we guided a protesting Ford across the Green Mountains and down the steep hills into Brattleboro just as the disappearing sun was transforming that old town into a city of delight. There was the clean smell of recent rain in the streets which were filled with self-respecting, reserved New England women going home from work. Blue serge skirts, the last of the shirt waists, and such complexions as long hours, ill health and inferior cooking had left them; for never a rice grain had been powdered to whiten their skins and never a cochineal bug had died to make them red. They were as startling a contrast to a crowd of New York city working women as could well be —a far more somber, plainer and less joyous group, Anglo-Saxon almost to a woman! And yet the glamor of the sun shining on the wet streets, gilded it all and we propelled the Ford up out of Brattleboro the next morning feeling that we were leaving a lovely spot where life went easily.

Thomas Thompson, riding into Brattleboro from Boston some fifty years earlier, had left the town with no such illusions. He and his young wife, who refused to entrust themselves to such precarious means of transportation as railroads and steam boats, made long, slow, safe, trips in their carriage through the country from Boston and later from New York city. Among the places they visited were Rhinebeck, New York, and Brattleboro, Vermont. To these two beautiful towns Mr. Thompson was generous. He died in 1869 and directed that after the death of his wife the income from his fortune should be used—

> for the relief and support of poor seamstresses, needle women and shop girls who may be in temporary need from want of employment, sickness or misfortune in the towns of Brattleboro, Vermont and Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, New York. . . . it being my wish that the fund shall be for the immediate relief of the suddenly needy whether from casualty, imprudence or improvidence, I direct that there shall be as speedy action taken upon all applications as may be consistent with ascertaining the reality of the alleged need of assistance.

Mrs. Thompson survived her husband thirty years.

A Legacy to Wage-Earning Women, the record of what has been done with that part of the fund spent in Brattleboro during the past quarter century by Lucile Eaves and associates is about to be published by the research department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. This report is two things: the rather startling projection of the modern industrial situation against the background of tradition; and the most complete survey I know of all the women in all the occupations in one place.

In 1869 America was still held in the pioneer tradition that there could only be temporary economic difficulties in the path of those who were both honest and industrious, and that these difficulties could be overcome through the wise application of charity. The evils which Mr. Thompson saw were very real and very terrible, and in the stage of social experience of that time there was no immediate way of meeting them except through philanthropy. It is easy to understand why he was specially concerned for the seamstresses and needlewomen because during the sixties one in five of the working women in New York state and one in eight in Vermont were in the needle trades, and

> The ranks of the seamstresses were recruited by many who found themselves "suddenly needy" because of the sacrifices demanded by the Civil War, and there is abundant evidence to prove the ruthless "sweating" to which the inexperienced workers were subjected. One petition complains that, while the Federal Government paid $1.75 a dozen for making shirts for the army, the contractors sublet this work to women at $1.00 a dozen. When it is remembered that but few women had sewing machines in those days and that clothing was made with laborious hand stitching, it is easy to imagine the sufferings of the unfortunate women who sought this means of earning a living for themselves and dependents.

The first national labor conference convened in Baltimore in 1866: "Resolved that we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing women and the daughters of toil in this land and would solicit their hearty cooperation, knowing as we do, that no class of industry is so much in need of having their conditions ameliorated as the factory operatives, sewing women, etc. of this country."

It is not quite so clear why Mr. Thompson should have been so much concerned about the shop girls for there were at that time only 2,387 in the whole state of New York and only sixteen in Vermont, but so the legacy was left—just at the beginning of the rush of women into this and other forms of wage earning, and just as the new methods of combatting poverty were being inaugurated in London, by the Charity Organization movement. These two things have changed the situation:

> Thus fifty-five years after the bequest was made, there are but few women in the two towns of Brattleboro and Rhinebeck whose conditions of work resemble even in a slight degree those of the poor seamstresses and needle women who aroused Mr. Thompson's sympathies during the hard years which followed the Civil War. Yet the fear of "temporary need from want of employment, sickness and misfortune," continues to darken the lives of the women who make garments with the help of power machinery, who serve at the counters of stores, who operate typewriters and adding machines, or tend long rows of spindles and looms.

It is in the spirit of the new attack on social problems that this survey of Brattleboro was made. It begins with an inquiry of where the modern working women of Brattleboro come from, what their working conditions are, whether they get enough to live on, and what sort of "temporary need" has made them ask help of the fund. The study covers 1,067 women—practically all there are in the town.

Of four hundred and eighty the birth place is known. Less than one fifth were born in Brattleboro, one third came

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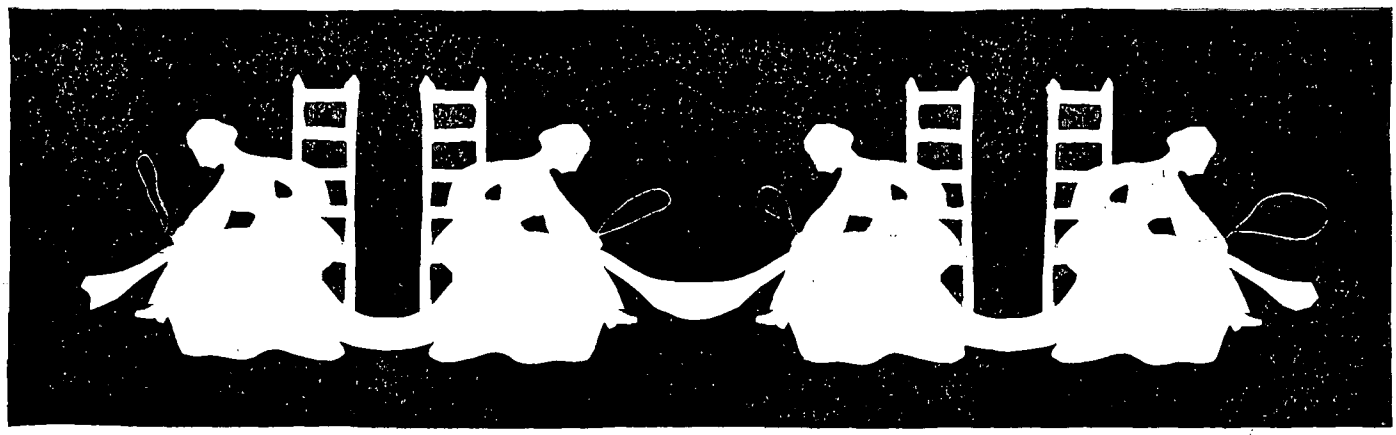


Poor sewing women

from other parts of Vermont, another third from the other New England states and about one eighth were foreign born, chiefly in Canada and Ireland. Little outside New England has come into the town but much that was valuable in the native stock has gone away. "The offspring of the older families have sought the greater business and cultural opportunities offered by the great cities, or prompted by a spirit of adventure have gone forth to help in the development of the West." And this outpouring of the native born has left in Brattleboro, as in so many of the industrial cities of New England, a preponderance of women—rising, falling, but always there.

"When the economic history of the old industrial community is reviewed, it is evident that its business prosperity has become increasingly dependent on the service of its women citizens. Since women usually are more thrifty and conservative than men, it is possible for them to be satisfied with the modest compensations and more restricted opportunities offered by the business of these small towns."

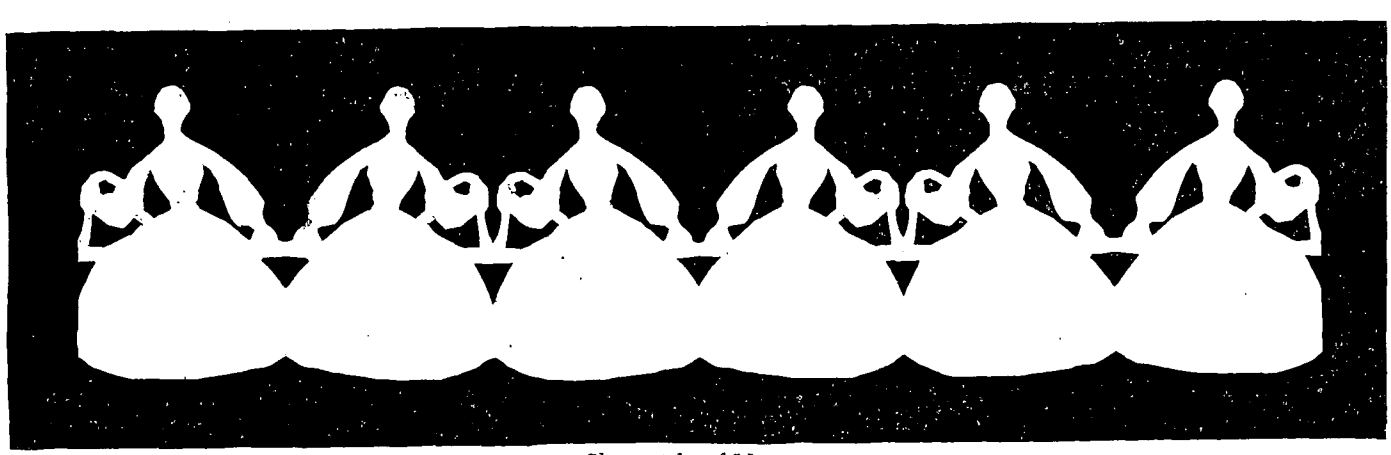
WHY do they go then? Work in Brattleboro is of about the same kinds offered to women in other places. Beatrice McConnell who made that part of the survey relating to wages gives the answer.

Through the courteous cooperation of the business men of the town, we were permitted to copy complete payroll records, for the year 1921 of all women employes. Brattleboro women are hampered by great irregularity of employment. Only one woman out of four worked 49 weeks or more out of the year . . . one woman out of eight worked less than four weeks during the year. . . . The total amount earned in 1921 by these 1,067 Brattleboro women was $507,724, giving them a per capita average income of $478. The more highly trained or skilled women received but slightly higher incomes than those of the unskilled occupations. The teachers showed the highest average of $892 with clerical workers next at $643. The very low average of factory workers, $372, undoubtedly was due to their great irregularity of employment. It is interesting to note that the overall factory, which paid the highest average, $526, was the one union-organized shop in the town. Nurses, domestics and sales women all averaged between $416 and $490, and the women included in the miscellaneous occupations had a yearly average of about $600. . . . Analysis of the individual schedules showed that living expenses were not correspondingly low. . . . If we assume that their living conditions were not radically different from those of women employed in Massachusetts, some estimate may be made whether their earnings were sufficient to cover the cost of living and leave a small margin of savings for support in old age by use of the reports of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. During the years 1920—1921 . . . the average for fifteen decrees was $13.92 a week which would have yielded an income of $723.84 for women employed through the entire 52 weeks of the year. . . . It is probable that two out of three of the employed women of Brattleboro failed to earn enough to cover the minimum cost of living.

The careless and wasteful use of this indispensable labor force must result in decreased industrial efficiency and in the creation of complex social and economic burdens which could not be carried successfully by a charitable endowment many times as great as the Thompson legacy.

Over $200,000 dollars of this legacy was used in Brattleboro between 1901 and 1923, for the "immediate relief" of about five hundred women.

It is safe to assume that about one third of the women of Brattleboro who have passed their fourteenth birthday engage in some sort of gainful employment though many of them do not work continously. Then the numbers who have been entitled during the last twenty years to claim assistance from the Thompson legacy have ranged from 760 to 1,000. If we



Shop girls of Vermont

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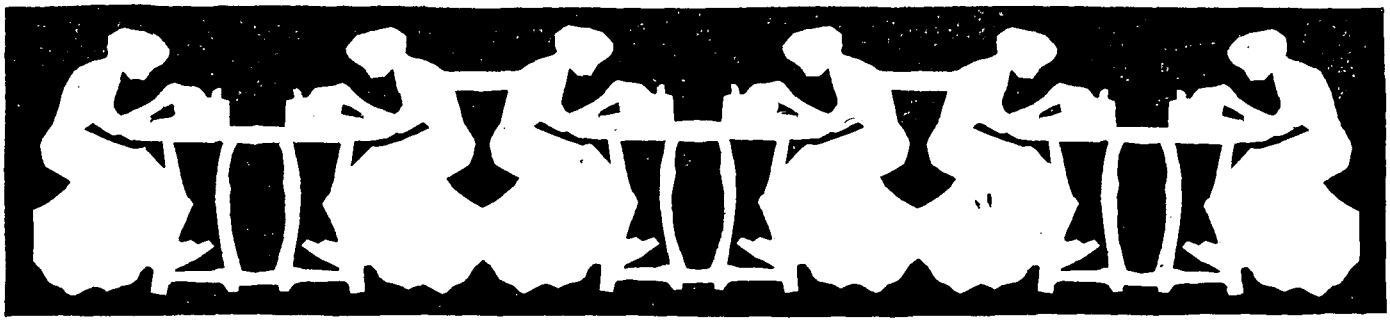

Only a few had machines

omit 70 women who received no assistance but small vacation grants of free board or transportation to the Vacation House then we have 430 women who at one or more crises during the past twenty years found it difficult without assistance to obtain what they considered necessary for themselves or dependents.

Fully three-fourths of all direct relief given was made necessary by the poor health of the women. Only one in six of those who sought aid confessed to good or fair health.

That only a little over 4 per cent were helped because they were not earning enough to live on is only to be accounted for by the fact that they were evidently living on less than enough for efficiency and that they were helped by relatives or friends. That only 3 per cent applied for aid because they had others dependent on them in a town where most women contribute to the support of others, is another incredible thing, and that less than 8 per cent applied because they couldn't get work is more amazing still. A few women asked for aid to pay for special training to fit them for better positions, others so that they could be admitted into homes for the aged, nineteen were helped to pay funeral expenses. The whole record is the account of an attempt to meet the social emergencies which the community as a whole has not attended to . . . . .low wages, irregular work, ill health, dependent and often subnormal relatives, death.

THERE is one part of the report that will be a surprise to many of those who still hold the ideals prevalent at the time when the bequest was made. It is the investigation of Elizabeth Rowe into the condition of the children of those mothers who go to work in the town.

It is quite surprising to discover that 30 per cent of these children of working mothers are above the average in their school grades for their ages, 32 per cent are normal in their school progress, i. e. are in grades which would be reached by entering school at seven years of age and making a grade each year. The majority of the retarded are behind only one year. There in no reason to suppose that a cross section of these children of working mothers are not like other children; therefore among the retarded group are those who fall behind because the school curriculum does not offer the training that appeals to their aptitudes; and among the excessively retarded are probably those of the feebleminded type found in every community. Therefore the mother's employment cannot be considered as the causal factor. . . . In the free kindergarten it is reported that teachers notice no difference in the care given children by mothers who work and those who do not work.

If we are to hold the working mothers indictable only on the charge of neglecting their children, it appears that they stand as a whole cleared.

The comparative futility of gifts of money for the relief of a special group in a community is one of the most striking revelations of this study. . . . Incomes from eight such legacies as that left by Mr. Thompson would be required to cover the losses to Brattleboro women during the year studied due to irregular employment.

. . . The fact that two-thirds of the entire group of gainfully employed women failed to earn sufficient to cover a minimum standard of living budget is one of the most startling and distressing revelations of this careful study. When the group which supplies the larger portion of the services required for the community economic life is subject to such conditions, a process of business dry rot is almost inevitable. An estimate of the extent to which the present earnings of Brattleboro business concerns might justify sounder wage policies cannot be made from data collected during the present investigation. There has been a process of elimination of the ambitious and resourceful which has left Brattleboro business men with too many rather mediocre employes. This makes it harder for them to pay standard wages. . . and to lower costs and increase output by skillful and economical management. . . . it has been proved many times that the simple operation of the law of supply and demand is by no means the only method by which wages are regulated.

THERE are in the United States over seven hundred towns of similar size and interests to Brattleboro. This report may be taken as reasonably true for them all—and it covers all the women who work in that place. There is no dodging the conclusion. What are we doing about it—we who have the ballot? Long before we could vote, Susan B. Anthony, who was delegate of the Workingwomen's Protective Association to the National Labor Union convention of 1868, presented a list of resolutions which included the insistance that women

learn trades, engage in business, join our labor unions or form protective unions of their own, secure the ballot, and use every other honorable means to persuade or force employers to do justice to women by paying them equal wages for equal work . . . that this congress demand the application of the eight-hour law to women's labor in the various trades or associations in which they are or may be employed. . . . That we urge Congress and all the state legislators to pass laws securing equal salaries for equal work to all women employed under the various departments of government.

Looking over this able survey of the present conditions in Brattleboro it seems fair to ask what we are doing to improve them. Mr. Thompson driving safely out of Brattleboro made a practical effort to change things in the only way possible at that time—but we, armed with the vote, have not made effective any social provisions against the disasters of sickness, unemployment, low wages or old age.

And it isn't because we don't know how!

Reluctantly leaving Brattleboro

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

THIS is the *neoteric* number of Letters & Life. Perhaps, that's a real word. It was left on our door-step by a cross-word puzzle . . . you know these bar sinister offspring of some casual alliance between respectable horizontals and a flighty vertical. All the neighbors are quite correct (*they* check out), but leave something *quite* impossible behind them.

"It might be 'neurotics'," smiles Penelope, pensive. "The definition says 'moderns'." You frown at her feline ineptitude. Your school Greek stirs in the sepulchre of the subconscious. "Neo—neo—why, neo means 'new'." But Penelope interrupts. Interruption is the very essence of helpfulness in puzzles. "And 'terics' is an affix meaning *being one,* like *hysterics,* y' see, which means having a fit" "What has hysterics got to do with this word?" I began testily, and paused. Penelope's philology is remarkable. Six months ago she would have cut an affix dead on the Avenue. Now . . . well, neoterics might prove useful. It sounds right (a great quality in a word)—why risk learning its past in the dictionary? Dictionaries are so frank, even abridged dictionaries. We adopted the little boy. For Penelope and me, neoterics means Moderns.

Not that I know anything about Moderns, with a capital. Nor antiques. I am distinctly middle-aged and middle class. But I do know that a Modern must be able to tell a revolution when he sees one: he measures progress by r. p. m.—revolutions per minute. So I have been seeking revolutions.

A pinkish person told me Processional by John Howard Lawson at the Theatre Guild was revolutionary. It isn't. It is simply ripping . . . the best play I have seen this year. It is gay satire, brutal truth, whimsical poetry, and sweeping imagination. It belongs in the class of Liliom and The Insect World—praise enough. Here are slabs and slices and glints of American life, kaleidoscopic, full of overtones, chequered in shadow and sunshine, threatening always to deliquesce, but never failing to weave themselves into a texture so taut and fascinating that we sit breathless with wonder. The great American novel seems to have fizzled, but Processional is like to prove a stepping-stone to the great American play.

The joy of Processional it that it lives up to its name—an honesty not achieved by much of our art. It marches, dances, stumbles, falls, backslides, and turns flip-flops. It is a slow movie of America done in colors from an airplane bound for Mars. Maybe it is revolutionary—at least in this, you never know what to expect next. After the pattern, pattern, pattern of our average plays—even by O'Neill, it is a glorious feeling not to know what is coming next. For instance the Ku Klux Klan comes galumphing after a man. He grabs the mask off a pursuer. There stands the comedy Jew of the piece. They pursue this cuckoo, and h plucks off a mask. Lo, it is the jazz Negro of the piece! The Klan goes into executive session in a parody as silly and as delightful as a college initiation.

Mr. Lawson's boisterous burlesque with its jazz tempo is always near the granite of life—and at moments the sunshine on the rocks gives us a sense of poetry and spiritual struggle that moves beyond sermons. Whenever the reporter and Sadie Cohen the silly little flapper meet some transfiguration occurs. She wants to "be a movie queen and have a bushel of diamonds and get a million letters." "Call me something—call me—Desdemona!" "Desdemona—little flower of the smoke," he whispers. And a moment later, he adds: "Here, now, cut this out. I am a respectable middle-class citizen and must frown on passion." It would take Mr. Sinclair Lewis six analyses of the telephone-book to say that.

Mr. Lawson's alleged neoterism hasn't hurt him. He gave us our first view of "expressionism"—for he had something to express. Penelope had one of her silly intuitions about Processional. "It isn't cynical," quoth she. "It's too modern for that. The very latest generation is so amazed at life, the unruly power of it and the giant potencies, that it sits at life's feet in child-like wonder. It's getting a Renaissance freshness of view. Mr. Lawson is humble, not cynical, and so can be joyous."

Mr. Joyce's Exiles drove The Little Clay Cart, a Hindu poem-fantasy, off the Neighborhood Playhouse stage—a sorry exchange. For Exiles is not modern, humble, or joyous. It is out-moded, bumptious and cerebral. It deserves the ancient label—"erotic, neurotic, and tommy-rotic." I didn't take Penelope (Mr. Joyce was intimate with Ulysses, you remember) but a *young* person . . . as interpreter. The young person was game, but found the seat just as hard as I did. There's no drama, just amateur psychiatry, interminably vocal, vocal as a treatment at a psychoanalyst's. The psychiatric drama is inevitable (don't you often envy doctors the tales they must hear?), and in fact Broadway is seeing a play called The Complex now, but will we ever be moved or uplifted by sick people? These exiles are sick, sicker than Hamlet, yet Mr. Joyce makes them talk about "love" and "friendship" as if they knew what they were talking about. One sick soul may be the tragic motif of a great play, but a stageful is merely clinical. Mr. Joyce's formula is simple, but deadly. There are, of course, two sexes. Two pair of these make four. By mathematics then four triangles are possible. And they can talk in monolog, duolog, triolog, and quadrupedulog. They can, and do. One male can stand for bodily love and one for spiritual love; females, ditto. Add one assignation and one kiddie. Exiles is the answer. But what's the question?

I'd like to stage his audience. Psychiatry would pene-

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trate them like x-rays. The poseurs would uncover their stigmata of ignorance; the intelligenzia confess their supressed morals; the naughty make plain their naughtiness and the vain their vanity; and the bored give vent to a choral yawn. For most of us are secretly bored. People don't go to sex plays because they find sex interesting, but because they have found it dull. They hope to learn here the secret of which everybody whispers, and nobody tells.

But Mr. Joyce is right in one thing: there is drama in talk. I accept that neoteric doctrine, but none of their fumblings have caught the trick of staging words yet. Words, in the long run are the best instrument of expressionism we have—spiritual longings, love labors, deaths of illusions, senseless angers, creeds, even glandular antagonisms, all have voices. But no one has had real faith in life as talk. The theater has demanded that we compress, foreshorten, omit, prune, prettify and sterilize. They have diddled with profanity and smut on the stage this year. But that's adolescent. What we want are the slips of the tongue that drive peace out of a family, spurts of loose talk like blood all over the place, idle jests that suddenly breed serpents in everybody's heart, the misplaced name that blinds like lightning, that silence, over-long by an infinitesmal moment, that leaves behind an enduring suspicion. Yes, there is a thrill in talk. Words have their victories. Vide cross-word puzzles.

Words, Idle Words

CROSS-WORD puzzles fit this epistle. They are neoteric. Fads must be. They certainly deal with letters—books which are not books, someone calls them. They are life for the moment though they are already on the ebb. They are harmless, but significant. For fads are not lawless any more than meteors or the ephemeridae of summer dusks. They come at their appointed time, and arise out of eternity. The tango before Armageddon in 1914 and the jazz blues of our Barmecide peace were symbols not unconcerned with murder and sudden death. Let us look at these puzzles, *sub species aeternitatis*.

These are the facts. The cross-word puzzle was made in America. It deals with empty words. It implies vast reaches of unoccupied time. It became epidemic in every class, age, intelligence level and calling. The moral seems to me clear. We are a word-driven nation and we have great vacuums of leisure into which fads rush with all the abhorrence for emptiness manifested by Nature herself.

This puzzle rage seems but a symptom of a real disease—the American preoccupation with words, as words, regardless of reality. You find it everywhere, and it governs all our ways. Other nations can't understand our foreign policy because they can't understand this vice. We won't join a "League" of nations, but we propose an "Association." We aren't in a conference, but we have "an observer." We amend our very Constitution for "prohibition" and fall into a new license. One year we are too proud to fight, and the next ready to give till it hurts. The very heart of Mr. Wilson's failure was his ability to put into words what he could not put into practice. Our foreign relations are a game of words far more duplicitous than the conventional hypocrisies of diplomacy.

Much of our advertising is verbal sleight-of-hand. We don't even trouble to compare the words with reality, or even possibility. On opposite pages of a magazine we read claims for motor cars which cannot be true for both at once. They contradict each other. But this doesn't even strike us as funny. Like Alice, by constant practice, we can believe three impossible things before breakfast. Our super-salesmen invented the "talking-point"—some minor decoration of a commodity, often specially added, to be talked about—to conceal not infrequently a lack of intrinsic worth.

We love slogans because we love words. It is "Pike's Peak or Bust!" but how few of us bust! We do neither but yield to some new siren whispering "See America First" or "Travel with The Marines—Learn While You Earn." And what lessons the marines do teach! What is the residual truth in Coolidge or Chaos, the Red Peril, 100 per cent American, He Kept us Out of War? An "acid test" is a matter of rhetoric with us. Safety First has all the power of a real creed with behind it a great propaganda machine for an end so selfishly desirable that it scarce needs assertion. Yet we run around with the words on our lips, and die from automobiles, homicide, wood alcohol, grade-crossings.

We are word-shocked. Every place the eye seeks rest is usurped by a poster branding some new banality into our brains. Book blurbs prostitute the very words of which the author in the book is supposed to be the high priest. The days are full of "conferences"—word orgies, from the incoherent luncheon conference to the fully staged "disarmament" conference in which we agree to scrap the obsolete battleships to invest in the scourge of airplanes. Our Congressional Record is laden with speeches never made urging faiths never held by orators whose secretaries wrote the copy. The very night is blatant with words over the precious air. We are talking ourselves into a state of stupor, making our wills sleazy and our minds into sieves, and breeding a generation of lip hypocrites. And on this gaseous eruption of words we propose to set a moral censorship—more words!

Is it wonderful that cross-word puzzles make us happy? Our lives are ruled by two words—"They say . . . ." Words are nicer than realities. You can change the words. They can be erased, synonyms invented, interpretations applied. You don't even need the dictionary definition. Roll your own. The New York Evening Post quotes a wit: "An optimist is a man what prints his cross-word puzzles in ink." We make our facts conform to our words so they will fit the black and white squares. Life is the reverse. Words name facts and are not the by-product of horizontal ignorance and vertical illusion. Hearken to a sober voice among the drunken, the Manchester Guardian:

> The thing beneath the word need not excite him; it is the raiment of letters that he seeks. . . . The young lady who thought that to write was human but to spell divine might profit by the new pastime, but people who are more interested in things than in words will wonder, like the charity boy confronted with the alphabet whether it was worth going through so much to learn so little. However, the nominalists appear to be a large, happy, and busy faction, but this only increases one's fears as to the fate of a family in which there should be a lonely realist railing at all this quest of the shy noun or the dim elusive epithet.

No, the Declaration of Independence did not mention the inalienable right to use words. But we have created it. We have taken words, holy words, like "love" and "marriage" and crucified them on silver screens, news headlines, magazine covers, book jackets, electric signs, and comic strips until they are meaningless. Truth avenges herself by leaving us empty. But there is still Matthew V, 37.

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EDITORIALS

ALMOST any fine morning the country may learn with surprise that Chicago has "municipalized" her street and elevated railways and permanently done away with private traction corporations, franchises, service for profit and other features of divided control of public utilities. More extraordinary still, the street railway companies and the bankers who represent investors in bonds and stocks of these companies have approved the proposed transaction and are, with one or two exceptions, sincerely and vigorously backing Mayor Dever, the "radical," in his municipal-ownership policy. Within a few days the electorate of Chicago will be afforded the unusual opportunity of deciding by referendum whether or not the city shall buy, own and help manage and operate the entire system of intramural transportation, surface and elevated, by electric power. The referendum will be mandatory, not advisory, and the city government is prepared to carry out the popular mandate.

The franchises of the Chicago surface lines expire in the spring of 1927. New franchises, even of an indeterminate character, are admittedly out of the question as public sentiment is opposed to them, while the companies frankly recognize that they could not finance needed betterments and new construction on a limited or uncertain franchise. There is apparently no alternative save municipal purchase of the system. But—here was the rub. Chicago has exhausted its bonding power, cannot issue additional obligations, nor effectually mortgage any property, under the state constitution, and has no cash wherewith to buy the surface systems, whose present value is considerably in excess of $162,000,000 and the elevated system, priced at $85,000,000. To buy without cash or a mortgage on property effectively secured seemed an impossibility, but a progressive alderman, a supporter of Mayor Dever and an able lawyer, U. S. Schwartz, evolved a most ingenious solution. The city could not legally borrow money and mortgage any property, but it might buy the surface lines with special certificates and gradually pay off these novel and unusual obligations *out of the net earnings of the lines*. Of course, the present owners and investors would have to be fully protected; the rate of fare would have to be sufficient to pay all expenses and leave a surplus for interest on the certificates and an annual installment of the principal; petty politics and spoils would have to be rigidly excluded from the management of the municipal lines; that management would have to be efficient, courageous and progressive. The Schwartz plan, indorsed by Dever, is supposed to meet all these essential requirements.

If the voters assent, the city council having approved the plan by a large majority, the certificates will be issued and taken by the banks and the investors in exchange for the present traction mortgage bonds. Title will pass to the city, though for the present the city will not manage or operate the lines. A board of traction control is to be created. It is to consist of nine members—three to represent the city, three the investors and present owners, and three to act as impartial guides and friends of all concerned. The board is to have full charge of the lines and to employ experts to operate them. Any holder of the Schwartz certificates is to have the right to appeal to a court of equity for appropriate measures should the board of control degenerate, play politics, and in consequence fail to earn net profits sufficient to pay interest and sinking fund charges. When, or if, the board has redeemed 51 per cent of the total of the outstanding Schwartz certificates, it must be reorganized and reduced to seven members; the city is then to appoint four of the seven (the neutral element retiring) and thus obtain control of the lines.

IF the people of Chicago should reject the plan, the whole traction situation would enter upon a chaotic phase, with lawsuits, recriminations, receiverships and injunctions. And there is much opposition; the spoils politicians are against it; the demagogues are against it; some sincere radicals are against it because it fails to provide for complete municipal ownership and operation; some groups are against it because they think the price demanded by the lines excessive, though eminent engineers have appraised them and declared the price to be fair and moderate; some are against the ordinance because they dislike street cars and think the motor bus will soon supercede them; and, finally, many are secretly, and even to some extent openly, fighting the traction ordinance because they are "wet," hate prohibition and resent Mayor Dever's determination to suppress organized beer-manufacture and running, as well as defiant bootlegging.

The mayor, it is said, is to be "punished" for his law-enforcement policy in and out of season, and his traction plan must fail in order to reflect discredit upon him! This is a strange way to settle a great public issue, but in the kingdom of cheap and malicious politics such paradoxes are not unknown. While the decisive support of the city council yielded Dever a remarkable victory, and his recent success in virtually forcing the elevated lines managed by Samuel Insull, the leading public utility organizer in the West, into the scheme adds another feather to his cap, the outcome of the referendum is still in doubt.

THE annual diagnosis of the condition of Porto Rico has just been issued to the public. In it the condition of our best governed colony, as it existed in 1924, stands revealed. Horace M. Towner, the governor, for more than

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ten years chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, is one of the very few of our tropical administrators who was thoroughly conversant with his job when he took up its responsibilities. Of his past and present knowledge he is fully aware that Porto Rico is no tropical paradise. He is candid and honest enough to reveal many of his difficulties. This progressive, industrious and grateful people are still a serious social and political problem to themselves and us. And this latest and frankest report on the island's present state of being is one of the most illuminating of reminders of why Porto Rico still needs more understanding and very present social help and encouragement from the United States.

While the report was being revised for publication an election was held in Porto Rico. The insular campaign and its results are very pertinent to the present situation and should be briefly rehearsed to the reader. In 1920 there were three parties in Porto Rico, the Unionists, the Republicans and the Socialists. Last summer the two bourgeois parties, the Unionists representing the Spanish-minded ascendancy and the Republicans representing the paramountcy of the American-minded, formed an alliance against the Socialists, who had polled more than 20 per cent of the votes in the 1920 election. A small body of the Republicans withdrew from the composite party and joined the Socialists, but it is fair to say that in 1924 the people of Porto Rico went to the polls on a strongly marked labor issue. The Socialists in Porto Rico, led by Santiago Iglesias, belong to the right wing of the international movement and are affiliated by personal ties with the A. F. of L. in this country. In the election of November 5 they were beaten by a large majority, and in the new local congress which is soon to sit, all but 3 representatives out of 39 and all but 2 senators out of 19 were returned by the triumphant coalition of their opponents.

BUT labor conditions have become at last a central issue in Porto Rican politics and the report now before us will satisfy some of those who are curious to know how this situation has come about. It fills in the social background. It explains why politicians can no longer divide in Porto Rico on artificial issues like independence. It discloses what some of the social conditions are which have recast party divisions along economic lines, while such a trend is still making almost imperceptible progress in the continental United States.

Last year was a good year in Porto Rico, says Governor Towner, with hardly any strikes or labor troubles and with the island's basic commodities fetching good prices in the world's markets. Yet the condition of the Porto Rican people is far from satisfactory. There are 377 of them to the square mile, more than in any American state save Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island. In our eastern states, 80 per cent of the people are engaged in more or less intensive industry. In Porto Rico more than 80 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture. It is not a misfortune to live in an agricultural country, says the governor, but it is a misfortune, and a misfortune for which the United States has not yet found a remedy, for an overcrowded agricultural population to have to sustain itself under the semi-feudal régime of large absentee ownership of basic crops. That is the present state of Porto Rico, and the matter has now reached such a pass that Governor Towner admits that "even with the full development of all our now untilled lands, it is doubtful if we could give full-time employment to all our people."

The actual amount of unemployment does not appear in this report. The governor believes that it is "less than in most European countries." But other statistics bearing on this question are available. Thus, there are less than half as many farms of less than ten acres today in Porto Rico as there were in 1910; the number of individual farms has dropped off by about a third; and the area of farms of over 1,000 acres has increased by 20 per cent, with 25 per cent fewer owners. This is one trend; here is another. Porto Rico has produced more than $2,000,000,000 worth of wealth under the twenty-five years of American domination, and the statement is not seriously contested that half of it has been exported never to return. Less than two thousand Americans live in Porto Rico, and few of these are the actual final receivers of this wealth. The extent to which the great bulk crops of sugar and tobacco dominate the life of the island and force its specialized exploitation is shown by the fact that they amount to $66,500,000 out of the year's exported products of $80,750,000, or more than 83 per cent of the island's annual foreign commerce. This cycle of figures may be led back to the unemployment question by way of the statement of a former director of the Porto Rican bureau of agriculture that three-fourths of the cane land in Porto Rico is now owned and worked by three companies controlled in the United States, and that the effect this has wrought on the lives of the people is that out of every ten Porto Ricans who were independent farmers ten years ago, three of them are today landless workers with a chance, shared throughout the island, of about one in six of being automatically out of work for several months of the year.

In view of these facts, the effect of the inclusion of Porto Rico within the American political and economic system has not been an unmixed good, and it need surprise no one that the urgency of raising the living conditions and increasing the security of the mass of the Porto Rican people has called forth a political party which has assumed the place of opposition in the island's two party system. The governor has every right to call attention to Porto Rico's splendid, 1200-mile road system, and to cite the amazing health progress which found the birth and death rates alike at 26 per thousand in 1902, and which has cut the death rate to 18 and raised the birth rate to 37 in the intervening years. One-third of the island's budget goes to schools, and 80 per cent of the new generation can read and write. These are splendid services, the work of the best group of tropical administrators we have ever sent abroad.

Yet malaria, hookworm and tuberculosis rage fearfully in this undernourished population, and almost 50 per cent of the island's mortality was the pitiful deaths of children less than five years of age. Tuberculosis, in spite of the campaign waged against it, actually increased last year, at least in proportion to the normal growth of population. Surely, no one can complain that the municipality of San Juan is leading the way in rebuilding its working-class districts, and that the island government is making renewed efforts to find land and sanitary homes for the people. The

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new development is that conscious movement to bring to bear the direct influence of the dispossessed peons themselves has now become a part of the political life of the country. This is "independence" in a much more practical form, and Americans must be ready to watch its development with increasing sympathy as time goes on.

FOR more than a year the railroad unions have been concentrating their political influence on Congress to secure the enactment of the Howell-Barkley bill designed to do away with the Railroad Labor Board. Largely because of the concerted opposition of railroad managements, the last congress adjourned without bringing the bill to a vote.

In the meantime practical developments are having the effect of sucking the meat out of the egg and leaving the Board only the shell of authority. In December the telegraphers on the Pennsylvania conducted a referendum under the Board's supervision to determine who should represent them in their wage negotiations. Subsequently the Railroad Labor Board issued a statement declaring that the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, a standard A. F. of L. union, had been elected as the duly authorized representative of the employes in the telegraph service of the Pennsylvania Railroad and should be so recognized by the carrier. But the Pennsylvania refused to abide by the election or to recognize the instructions of the Board and announced that it would continue to deal with its telegraphers in accordance with its own plan of employe representation.

On March 2 the United States Supreme Court dismissed the suits brought by System Federation No. 90 of the shopcraft unions to compel the Pennsylvania to adhere to the wage scale fixed by the Board. They contended that the management had reduced the wages of 60,000 shop employes below that scale and asked that they be awarded damages in the sum of fifteen million dollars, the difference between the wages paid by the Pennsylvania and the schedule fixed by the Board. In reading the court's decision, Chief Justice Taft said that while the company was refusing to comply with the decisions of the Board and was thus defeating the purpose of Congress, the court did not think that Congress, while it might deprecate such action, intended to make it criminally or legally objectionable. "There is nothing compulsory in the provisions of the statute as against either the company or the employes," he said, "upon the basis of which either acquire additional rights against the other which can be enforced in a court of law."

Last September the Board declared that the dispute between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, on the one hand, and the Western railroads on the other, had reached a point threatening "seriously to interrupt interstate traffic" and summoned the two parties to a hearing. The brotherhoods refused to appear. They not only insisted upon negotiating directly with the Western roads but in certain instances took a strike vote. The Board had recourse to the courts to compel them to appear and notwithstanding their continued refusal granted a "Christmas present" to their members in the form of a wage increase. The brotherhoods found the award unsatisfactory, continued their negotiations, and have now signed with most of the roads agreements which are in certain important respects at variance with the Board's award.

Both sides have developed a clowning habit of using the Board principally as a stuffed club. The Supreme Court decision of March 2 only confirms its impotence in major controversies. Even the public is ceasing to take its pronouncements seriously. If it is not strengthened or superceded by act of the next Congress, it is likely to fade into innocuous desuetude.

ON occasion a report, an address, a court decision or a state paper lifts above the general run and becomes a great footnote in the scroll of social history. Such was the farewell sermon Harry Emerson Fosdick preached on March first before the First Presbyterian Church in New York, a part of which is published on page 29. The fact that a Baptist had filled the pulpit for five years as special preacher has been no more significant than the rows of back pews which Sunday after Sunday had been filled by men and women of all denominations.

The fight which the First Church will again carry to the General Assembly has its counterpart in unnumbered small communities where the Protestant churches, as a social force, bury their talents in the napkins of competing denominationalisms. Moreover, this sermon gave some answers to the question whether, should the church disregard old dividing lines, it will lose its dynamic. The answers lay in Dr. Fosdick's appeal to the motivations in men's lives, his defense of growth called heresy, his charge to apply religion to life, his challenge to youth—and in the response to his preaching among the thousands at old First.

QUESTIONS involving birth control have been put up squarely to the medical profession in the offer of Mrs. Margaret Sanger to place the direction of the medical activities of the American Birth Control League, of which she is the director, under the supervision of representative medical organizations. The matter is under consideration by a special sub-committee of the Public Health Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine, including a censor of the County Medical Society, the chairman on Birth Regulation of the New York Obstetrical Society, and the chairman of the committee on Maternal Health (see The Survey, March 15, 1925.) The American Birth Control League receives some 50,000 letters of inquiry each year from laymen, and has had requests from 5,000 physicians. It carries on clinical research in contraception by giving examinations and suitable advice to 1,500 women eligible to receive it under the law, and referred largely through institutions and physicians. The offer arises from a belief on the part of the League that if the medical profession will assume the teaching and advice which the law sanctions there is no longer any reason to carry on these activities under lay auspices.

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Grouchy Husbands

EVERYTHING a moment before had been peaceful—and even comparatively quiet. Perhaps the youngster did make a slight disturbance at play, but it was unintentional—not anything over which a normal father should hit the ceiling. Perhaps some remark was made, innocently enough—but from the eruption which followed it might have been criminal!

What is the cause of outbursts like that? Unreasoning fits of temper on the part of men who ordinarily are kindly husbands and fathers!

It isn't often that overwork is the cause. Men are made for work. Work leaves the healthy brain and healthy body pleasantly relaxed—not taut and straining. Responsibility shouldn't fray the nerves. Men are miserable without it. They really love their homes and families.

But when this love is manifested by periodic explosions over nothing—when any little disturbance is a signal to fly off the handle—something is decidedly wrong!

The chances are that the man isn't well. Nerves! He would be the first to deny it, of course.

Why men fly off the handle

"Never felt better in my life!" he sputters. But he doesn't. His very vehemence is indication of the trouble which is secretly worrying millions of men in America. They are fagged. They are wearing out prematurely. Instead of the glowing health which should be theirs, "the prime of life" finds many of them a burden on their feet, tired at the beginning of the day as well as at the end of it, irritable, exacting, pessimistic. They are not "sick," no; but certainly they are not well.

And nine times out of ten the reasons are these: they neglect exercise, they don't get enough sleep; they shun fresh air; they eat too much, and eat the wrong things. And worst of all, they unthinkingly load their systems with artificial stimulants—with drug stimulants—which contribute *nothing of real value* to their well-being, but which slowly and surely rob the body of its reserve strength.

Perhaps the most widespread offender among these artificial stimulants is caffein. It has no food value. It *seems* to give new energy, but this is a delusion. Actually it whips and goads the tired nerves to action when what they really need is rest.

Various forms of abuse have resulted in an alarming health record in America. The United States Life Tables for 1920 show that Americans pass the period of full health and vigor at the age of 31. These are cold, hard figures. But they become warm, human, illuminating, every time a grouchy husband goes on the warpath over nothing!

In 2,000,000 homes, people are eliminating one form of abuse by making Postum their regular mealtime drink. It is all wheat, skillfully blended and roasted. Instead of caffein, an artificial stimulant, it gives only the healthful elements of whole wheat and bran. It is delicious!—rich, full bodied, with the appetizing flavor of roasted wheat.

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connection or supposed connection with "Standard Oil" are too obvious to require comment) will make this unconventional attitude easier to understand. No government relishes the merit which foreigners acquire in relieving their people—as Mr. Hoover found when he began his child-feeding in Belgium and still more when the American Relief Administration went into Russia. If a government is going to take over completely a job of public-health work in the end, it is not good sense to put it in the position of second fiddle in the beginning. And any tactless or premature celebration of the part played by foreign philanthropy may defeat the end aimed at and stop the work altogether. One is told, for example, of an interview given out to our own ship-news reporters by a doctor just returning from work in a tropical country. Much had been accomplished; the reporters wrote enthusiastically and did not belittle the work of their own countrymen. The interview was promptly cabled back to the country where the work was going on and all but stopped it altogether!

Then again, research-workers of the type engaged in some of the Rockefeller investigations, men who toil patiently toward some obscure and half-suspected end, cloistered in their laboratories like so many mediaeval monks, have an inevitable, if sometimes rather over-sensitive, dread of trusting their esoteric material and terms to more or less slap-dash and illiterate laymen. There are lingering traces, also, here and there, of an earlier, somewhat hardshell, Baptistry-and-business day, in which comparatively little concern was given to the mere public. One gentleman, for example, long associated with Mr. Rockefeller, with whom I endeavored to have a talk, declined with the explanation that any such discussion, further than that found in the regular annual reports, could only do harm to Mr. Rockefeller and his son and "the ultimate historic estimate of both." Such rather excessive qualms, it should be explained, are not shared by those now most actively engaged in administering the Rockefeller boards. Aside from the hesitations mentioned above, for which there is a reason I found them glad to assist in every way in such a survey of their work as this.

THERE is no space here to go into the long and fascinating story of the human and scientific sides of the International Health Board's campaigns beginning with our own South and extending to the farthest Orient and including such dramatic accomplishments as the practical stamping out of yellow fever in South America and the Caribbean. There have been heroes and martyrs in it, as well as years of patient scientific work and the spending of nearly two millions. Even the fish have helped!

One reads with a curious sort of anthropomorphic kinship of the various sorts of small fish set to eating mosquito larvae out of barrels and cisterns in the steamy backyards of Vera Cruz and Guayaquil—how this one was so lively that he would jump three feet in the air to escape, how another had more repose of manner but was too expensive; how, when used in ponds and lakes, "top-feeders" are better here and "bottom-feeders" there, and the little fish must look out for the big fish, and even the mosquito larvae, "seem to sense the approach of a foe—probably from the agitations of the water, which act on their sensitive mouth hairs—and they will sham death or escape detection by concealing themselves between the leaves of aquatic plants or other flotage." And one cannot refrain from saluting, that "single despised catfish," mentioned on page 92 of the 1923 report, who "kept a shallow well in Corinto, Nicaragua, clear of mosquito larvae for more than three years, and earned the frying pan for his pains when the well was finally closed and a pump installed! . . ."

Yellow fever, which used to come as far north as St. Louis and was feared now and then even in the port of New York, has been practically wiped out from the West Coast of South America, and from Central America and Mexico. The malaria-mosquito wanders farther afield than the yellow fever mosquito, lays its eggs in marshes and ponds as well as in containers close to human beings, and the fight against malaria is correspondingly more dispersed and difficult. The Rockefeller demonstrations have proved, nevertheless, that in most neighborhoods in the United States at least, a comprehensive and persistent campaign can wipe out malaria at a cost to each citizen of the neighborhood of from 45 cents to $1.00 a year.

The job of bringing a community up to a satisfactory state of health might be divided into three stages. The first is to settle such fundamentals as a good water supply; the second to fight the big contagions, malaria, yellow fever, hookworm, etc.; the third to solve problems of personal hygiene. In the second, the public-health officer, a comparatively new official in all but the best-ordered neighborhoods, comes in; in the third, the public-health nurse. The functions of both are little understood by most people and this is a field in which the Board has much work ahead of it.

Health officers are appointed, as everybody knows, for more or less political reasons, and it is generally thought sufficient even in the largest cities, if the appointee has had an ordinary medical education. How inadequate this may be, the Board points out in its list of subjects included nowadays in a public-health curriculum:

(1) micro-organisms and various parasites, animals and insects that cause or transmit disease; (2) resistance and immunity, including vaccines and serums; (3) sanitation; (4) technical methods of controlling communicable disease; (5) chemistry and physiology of hygiene, including nutrition and health habits; (6) mental aspects of disease, delinquency and feeblemindedness; (7) legal relations of sanitations and hygiene; (8) maternity and child hygiene; (9) collection and interpretation of statistics of births, deaths and sickness; (10) methods of organizing and administering health work.

In addition to this theoretical training, a proper health officer should have had experience in a public health laboratory, a bureau of vital statistics, baby-welfare station, in the house-to-house service of a sanitary inspector and so on.

With the aim of providing for the needs of what is coming to be a new profession, the Board has endowed a School of Hygiene and Public Health at Johns Hopkins, has enabled Harvard University to reorganize its health courses into a new School of Public Health, contributed to institutes of public health at London, Prague and Warsaw and Sao Paulo, Brazil, and to the health section of the League of Nations for a special course for health officers.

Similar aid has been given toward the training of the public-health nurse. Following a survey of nursing education in the United States, the Foundation pledged to Yale University in 1923 an annual contribution for five years toward "an experiment and demonstration" in the education of nurses. This training, is shorter than the usual course—twenty-eight months rather than three years, more systematically educational, and includes public-health as an organic part of the course. The status and training of nurses differ widely. In some regions, nurses are scarcely more than a variety of servant; in others they are associated with religious orders and while their social status as "sister" may be secure and agreeable their technical training may be inadequate; in still others, their professional standing and responsibilities are scarcely inferior to those of the physician. The Yale School is an experiment in nurse training on broad educational lines with a view both to bedside care and public health.

During 1923, the Foundation continued to help Brazil in organizing a course for public-health nurses and a visiting-nurse service in Rio de Janeiro; loaned the Philippine Government

ROCKEFELLERS, INC.—INTERNATIONALISTS
(*Continued from page 13*)

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a specialist to assist in the organization of public-health nursing; in China maintained a nurse's training-school and assisted a number of hospitals where nurses were being trained. Studies of nursing education in Europe were continued, until, by the end of the year, ten countries had been examined, and the fellowship plan was used to send French and Belgian nurses to England, a Siamese nurse to Peking, and to bring French, Polish, Czechoslovak and Philippine nurses to America for further study.

The Board's cooperation with the Health Committee of the League of Nations has made possible both in this country and in Europe international gatherings of health officials and made broader and more effective the work of the League's Epidemiological Intelligence Service. This rather terrifying phrase describes a very interesting attempt to provide, through a monthly bulletin, information about the existence and progress of epidemics and the relative prevalence of epidemic diseases in various parts of the world, to harmonize the standards used in the compilation of vital statistics—in short, to initiate what might some day grow into a sort of international weather-bureau of disease. It is one activity of the League concerning which there has been no criticism, and it is hoped that before the comparatively modest appropriations of the Board have run their course, the usefulness of the work will be so generally recognized that the necessary costs will be taken over by the states represented in the League.

HELP to medical education as such, as disinguished from that directed toward the development of public-health officers and nurses, falls, when it concerns other countries than the United States or China, to the Division of Medical Education, which was added to the Foundation in 1919. The latter division has made surveys and given advice in some thirty-three countries, provided through its fellowships for visits or exchange of professors and physicians in a similar number, given a vast amount of emergency assistance in the way of literature and laboratory supplies, and contributed—contingent on some plan of development—to medical schools in various parts of the world.

The growing importance of research work has, naturally, changed standards of medical school education. The old-fashioned proprietary medical schools, in which physicians taught a part of the time and practiced the rest and divided up the school's profits at the end of the year, are no longer regarded as adequate in this country and are disappearing. A first-class medical school nowadays is expected to have full-time professors, who can devote all their time to teaching without bothering about keeping up a practice; suitable hospital facilities, and to offer not only chemistry, dissection and medicine, but a suitable amount of time for research.

The surveys carried out by the Foundation have shown that British ideas of teaching medicine prevail throughout the British Empire; French or Latin customs are followed in the South and West of Europe, Algeria, Syria, Spanish America and Indo-China; and German notions in central and northern Europe and Japan. All three "schools" of thought and practice have their good points and are suited to the temperaments or education of their various neighborhods, and yet each is susceptible of improvement.

The English, for example, in all things, medical schools included, accent common-sense, precedent and past experience, just as the Germans accent system and abstract theory. For the turning out of general practitioners, the English methods are said to be highly efficient. For the training of the specialists more and more demanded nowadays, their comparatively rule-of-thumb system left something to be desired. There was a place, therefore, for the contributions made to several of the leading medical schools of Great Britain—contingent, as usual, on a studied plan of development—in spite of the exclamation said to have been made by a British physician at the

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first suggestion of such help: "But, we are not Hottentots!"

The general policy of the Division has been to help, for the most part, only such medical centers as are likely to make significant experiments, demonstrate progressive methods or set standards which will have wide influence, and here, as elsewhere, to give only part of the funds, with the understanding that the rest will be raised by those assisted; to assume no responsibility for administration or supervision but simply to support plans in which their faculties or trustees already had faith. Help has taken the form of additions to the general endowment, of laboratory equipment or material for some particular department, of aid to pre-medical education in undeveloped countries, and of travelling fellowships or visiting professorships.

MR. ROCKEFELLER has taken a special interest in China, and a section of the Foundation, the China Medical Board, established in 1924, is devoted to the China field. Its aim is to raise the whole level of medical teaching and public health in China, and the outstanding feature of its work, and, indeed, one of the most picturesque single accomplishments of the Rockefeller millions, is the Peking Union Medical College.

This college, built and entirely supported by Rockefeller funds, is an attempt to set a Western medical school of the first class down in the Eastern scene. And not merely to set it down there, but to merge it in so far as may be, with its Chinese environment. The college, started by missionaries in 1906, was taken over by the Board and completely reconstructed. Externally, one sees what appears to be a Chinese palace, with roofs of glazed tiles, formal courts, marble steps and balustrades, and a main gate guarded by archaic lions. The use in the curved roofs of certain architectural motifs hitherto associated only with Chinese royalty, carries with it a certain connotation doubtless not lost on native eyes. Within, there are the class-rooms, laboratories, clinics, operating-rooms, power-plant and so on which one would expect to find in the best sort of school in the West, the various floors being set within the Oriental frame just as our own banks and insurance companies sometimes house themselves in Greek temples.

The teaching is in English and the seventy-eight members of the teaching staff who hold medical degrees represent thirty-nine medical colleges in eleven different countries. Visiting professors from the best Western medical schools come for stays of six months or a year and Chinese scientists and doctors are welcomed and made members of the faculty as fast as they are qualified for such positions. In 1923, there were 53 undergraduates in the regular medical school, sixty in the premedical course, and 16 in the school of nursing. Women are admitted to the regular courses as well as men.

The main aim of the college is to provide undergraduate medical training of high standard, facilities for physicians to take graduate work, opportunities for research, especially in diseases of the Orient, and, in general, to extend the popular knowledge in China of the methods and needs of modern medicine.

There are, naturally, special difficulties—lack of well-trained Chinese doctors, lack of pre-medical education, local customs and prejudices, the absence of stable provincial governments. A school of this grade cannot function satisfactorily without feeders from the lower levels of technical education and much help has, therefore, been given to colleges and training centers in China itself and fellowships have been provided for work at home and abroad. The Peking school has already become known as an important center and the scientific papers by members of its staff have attracted serious attention abroad.

The work of the China Medical Board involves some of the political and social tact needed in any successful colonial policy. Young Chinamen go abroad and return with a certain knowledge and prestige which they would like to see re-

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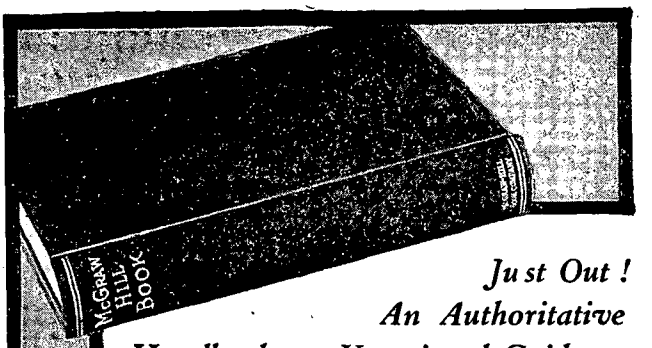
warded by immediate advancement to positions of importance and responsibility. Their instinctive understanding of the customs and temperament of their own people should be utilized. At the same time it does not necessarily follow that a native will treat his own people with greater consideration than the foreigner. In the case of hospital internes, the reverse is said to be the case! The general attitude of the China Medical Board has been described by observers as about midway between the British colonial policy and that pursued by the American government under the administration of Governor Harrison in the Philippines, when pretty much everything was turned over to the native-born. It has been compared to our Philippine policy under Governor Forbes, who endeavored to make human relationships as friendly as possible without surrendering indispensable administrative functions. The China Medical Board has spent something like $15,000,000 on its work in China thus far.

OUTSIDE the Foundation are four other divisions of the Rockefeller work, the General Education Board and Institute for Medical Research, already mentioned, and two newer divisions—the International Educational Board and the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial.

The latter, founded in 1918 in memory of Mrs. Rockefeller, has assets of about $78,000,000 and has spent thus far about $14,000,000. Mrs. Rockefeller was specially interested in child welfare. With the idea that the fund will eventually be applied toward some fundamentally important work in fields kindred to her interests, elaborate surveys are being made, in the Rockefeller fashion, and meanwhile the fund has been directed toward a variety of more or less temporary and experimental objects, and has sometimes been used for bits of emergency relief which did not easily fit into the programs of the older boards. Contributions have been made to Boy and Girl Scout organizations, to the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and other social welfare organizations, and emergency relief given to Russia, the Near East, Japan and Central Europe. When the American Relief Administration was concluding its famine-relief work in Russia, for example, over a million dollars was turned over to it to be used for the relief of teachers, professors, and the educated townsfolk, generally, who did not fall within the normal A.R.A. work. Two trends of development emerging under this fund have to do with child study and the social sciences.

The choice of ways in which such huge funds can best be spent is no simple matter, and there is a certain ironic humor in the fact that the more a man is burdened with wealth the harder it is for him to get rid of it. A mere millionaire, for instance has a comparatively easy time of it. He can give a few tens or hundreds of thousands here or there and nobody objects. It is a personal matter. But as soon as it becomes known that he has enough money, not merely for scattered, personal philanthropy but to "cover," so to speak, some whole field of altruistic activity, his gifts become a public matter. If he helps one in that field, he is expected to help all, and he must constantly be on the look-out lest some well-meant gift will start an embarrassing precedent. A maternity hospital for the Esquimos of upper Greenland might be a highly desirable thing and the mere millionaire might freely endow it and acquire merit thereby. The same project brought to the Rockefeller boards, might have to be declined lest a wave of similar demands should sweep all the way from Baffin Land to Bombay.

THE International Education Board, the youngest of the Rockefeller boards, founded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. instead of by his father, was established in 1923. It carries abroad a policy similar to that pursued by the General Education Board within the United States; does in the field of general education—more particularly in science and agriculture —much what the Division of Med- (*Continued on page* 64)



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(*Continued from page* 39)

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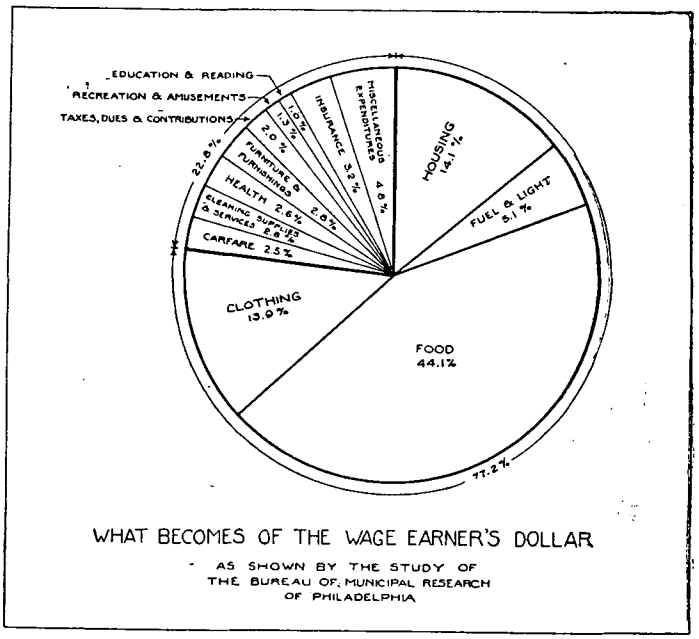

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EXECUTIVE with years of intensive experience organizing and conducting institutions and other works of social character in connection with dependent. delinquent and problem boys desires position as Superintendent of large Orphanage or Industrial School. Rural community and cottage plan preferred. References from those with national reputation as authorities. 5068 SURVEY.

WANTED: Young woman, 32, Catholic, two years college, desires traveling in Europe this summer as governess or companion. 5113 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, Physical Director and Orthopedic Specialist, desires position September in school or hospital within two hundred miles of New York. Good references. 5114 SURVEY.

MAN, 37, married, Jewish, seeks position. University graduate ordained rabbi, experience as Chaplain overseas, executive of fraternal organization three years. Also considerable business experience. Willing to work hard for moderate salary. 5115 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

EXECUTIVE ORGANIZER AND PUBLICITY DIRECTOR AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN MANAGER. University and Professional School graduate. Ten years experience with social agencies in the field of relief, recreation, health, social research, cooperatives, community organization, etc. Available for either year-round or short time connection after June 1. Location and travel requirements no obstacle. 5101 SURVEY.

Editorial and Research Work: New New York man, experienced also in booklet writing, motion pictures, exhibits, publicity, article writing. 5097 SURVEY.

WOMAN with seven years experience in institutional work, would like position in girl's work. Best of references. 5111 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED College Graduate (business, farming, English, Spanish and French) desires position Manager or Secretary (no shorthand). Would go abroad. 5112 SURVEY.

JEWISH woman of education desires light employment with cultured people in home or institution in exchange for room and board. SURVEY 5105.

MUSIC DIRECTOR, Instructor—brass, wood and string; also familiar with and experienced in the production of light operas, cantatas, minstrel shows; organizing and teaching bugle corps, etc., etc.; have cultivated baritone voice and willing to assist with religious service. Have made a study of and worked with juveniles successfully, especially the problem boy. Highest credentials from leading institutions as to ability and personal character. At present employed in Government institution but for sufficient reasons desire change. Wife experienced in the care and welfare of juveniles, male and female. Further details upon request. 5116 SURVEY.

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CHILDREN IN NEED OF SPECIAL CARE, by Lucile Eaves. Study of children of broken families, based on records of Boston social agencies. Order from the W. E. & I. U., 264 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. Price $1.25, postpaid, cloth.

COOKING FOR PROFIT, by Alice Bradley, describes home-study course, which includes catering, tea room, cafeteria and lunch room management. "51 Ways to Make Money" free. Am. School of Home Economics, 5778 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

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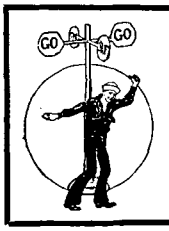
TALES OF ONE CITY. The rehabilitation of the Morally Handicapped. By Alice D. Menken. Jewish Board of Guardians, 228 East 19 Street, New York City, N. Y.



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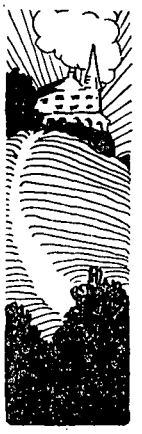

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MISCELLANEOUS

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ROCKEFELLERS, INC.—INTERNATIONALISTS
(*Continued from page 57*)

ical Education of the Rockefeller Foundation does in the field of medicine. No endowment has as yet been announced for this board. The expenditures which it has thus far made are roughly equal to the income of a principal of $10,000,000 and consist for the most part of small stipends for traveling fellowships and the like. In the few cases where grants have been made to institutions or organizations, these grants have been given for a limited period, not more than ten years in any case, suggesting that the ultimate scope of the work is still not clearly defined.

Like the Division of Medical Education, it aims to "invest in brains," to help those individuals or institutions which are capable of becoming in some sense leaders in their neighborhoods, not for their own profit but in the job of "promoting the well-being of mankind." The government of Bulgaria, for instance, wishes to improve its agriculture. It has two promising young men whom it wishes to send abroad to study superior methods and possibly to bring back seeds or plants adapted to Bulgaria's climate and soil. It applies to the International Education Board, stating its desires and the young mens' qualifications. The Board satisfies itself as to these qualifications, considers whether the proposed program of research—not necessarily in the United States—is likely to advance the candidate's scientific training, gets the consent of those to whom the students are to be sent, and advances the funds.

A young English mathematician has gone as far as he can in his own country—the only place he can get what he now needs is under the eye of some specialist on the Continent. The same procedure is followed here, and the young scientist sent to Copenhagen or Göttingen or wherever the master in his field happens to be. Promising investigators in such subjects as paleobiology, astro-physics and plant physiology have thus been helped to supplement their training by advanced work in other countries than their own, always in the expectation that they will return better qualified to carry on their work at home.

The names of their specialties are unfamiliar to the layman, but the facts behind these vague and unfamiliar names are often concrete and fascinating enough. A man in Chicago perfects a "grating" with some incredible number of lines—2,000 I think it was—to the inch, for breaking up the rays of the spectrum. Fine as this "grating" was, it was too coarse for the x-ray. Somebody in Germany, discovers that crystal makes a still finer "grating" and that the x-ray can be broken up by being passed through it. While the bringing of these two individuals together might represent a more specialized exchange of knowledge than the Board would undertake, they are mentioned as illustrating the sort of stuff in which such investigators work.

The Board has given grants to the University of Copenhagen—Professor Neils Bohr of that institution won the Nobel prize for his work on the atom—to the universities of Leyden and of Göttingen. Money was given to the Marine Zoological Station at Naples for equipment so that it might be better fitted to meet the demands of workers in the same field from foreign countries. Among the agricultural grants were those to the Hungarian Village Association, a society for improving rural life, encouraging peasant arts-and-crafts, etc., and to the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome to help meet the costs of world-wide agricultural statistics which it plans to publish in 1930.

With the assistance of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the Board made possible in 1923, the establishment of the International Institute of Teachers College at Columbia University, by a grant "not to exceed $100,000 a year" for ten years. There were foreign students from 41 countries in Teachers College at that time, and there are now between 300 and 400 from 57 countries, all the way from Armenia and Austria to Siam, Switzerland and San Domingo.

The regular work at Teachers College might be described as graduate study in the art and practice of teaching, and while many of these foreigners will teach when they return to their native lands, others will take up administrative or governmental work. While here, they not only study American methods of teaching and visit American schools and universities but are made familiar with American ideals and ways of thinking and become, in some sort, interpreters of America to the various neighborhoods to which they return. Some two thousand foreign students were trained at Teachers College before the International Institute was started. Several of the heads of the Chinese universities and more than two hundred other Chinese administrators and teachers had Teachers College training and somewhat the same thing is found in Japan, the Philippines and South Africa.

A second function of the International Institute is the investigation of education in foreign countries. As the members of its staff all have had experience in this sort of work, invitations frequently come from foreign governments for a general survey of their educational systems with a view to reorganization and improvement. In the following out of such missions, they have also studied foreign systems from which much could be learned, have observed the work of American missionary and other schools in the Near and Far East, reported on conditions and future needs of schools for American children in foreign lands, and made contacts with foreign leaders and governments which prepare the way for obtaining students who later may have great influence among their own people. One of the designated purposes of the original gift was the granting of tuition scholarships to foreign students. During the year 1923-24 forty-four students from nineteen different countries were thus helped.

IN closing this catalogue of philanthropies, it seems pertinent to remark, as a matter of fact rather than of opinion, that in a somewhat lengthy browsing in and about the Rockefeller boards, the writer has encountered no gen ral or serious criticism. A Mayor Hylan may include the recommendations of the General Education Board among the plots of the "Interests," anti-vivisectionists may rail at practices which the medical profession accept as sound and desirable. That any group of human beings, supplied with almost unlimited funds and removed from the usual competitive checks, should not at least make mistakes, seems unlikely. But as a mere matter of reporting, it must be set down that of serious complaint from what might be called responsible sources, the writer happens to have heard none.

Partly, of course, this is due to the Rockefeller policy of keeping away from contentious subjects and concentrating on such comparatively "safe" fields as scientific research and public health. But the character of the organization itself also doubtless has something to do with it. And the Rockefeller boards have not only "invested in brains"; they appear to have some of that useful commodity themselves.

How long these enormous funds are to remain approximately intact, no one can say. The Foundation has already spent parts of its principal and it is quite conceivable, according to its administrators, that an emergency might arise which would seem to call for the spending of the entire amount. It will be apparent, at any rate, by this time, if it was not at the outset, that Mr. Rockefeller's millions have very definitely crossed a bridge—a bridge that has taken them a world's length away, in space, and into regions of thought even further removed from the habitual activities of their giver. That which came from the ends of the earth is going back to the ends of the earth, and in a transmuted form in which may be observed the workings, conscious or unconscious, of a curiously interesting poetic justice.

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